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# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS



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INTERNATIONAL

AMERICAN LIBERALS ENJOINED TO SUPPORT SALT TREATY

Moscow NOVOSTI DAILY REVIEW in English 14 Jun 79 pp 1-2

[Commentary by Gennadiy Gerasimov, NOVOSTI political correspondent:  
"Professor Falk's Delusion or Other SALT-2 Critics"]

[Text] New York-Moscow--A lot has already been said about political forces in the United States representing the so-called military-industrial complex and now vigorously opposing a second Soviet-American agreement on the limitation of offensive strategic arms, preferring to build up nuclear weapons and chasing the illusion of military superiority.

Less is known about their somewhat unexpected allies from the "left" among anti-militarist minded liberal circles and groups. They criticize SALT-2 agreement for not going too far. They make the best the enemy of the good.

An example of such move was the conference of real alternatives--world war three or abolition of war--the title of a public discussion arranged last week in New York by the Institute for World Order, one of the local research and educational establishments. In a hall opposite the UN building there gathered scholars from some countries and interested Americans, some of them coming specially from California.

The interest in the meeting reflected concern felt by American public opinion about the future of their country and the world. As William Sloan Coffin, a well-known clergyman and public personality, said at the conference, America continues to suffer from "irrational love for power," from a desire to be first in military might, which, incidentally, he added, gives every individual American a "sense of powerlessness" in face of the seemingly all-powerful military-industrial complex.

What can be said here? It would seem the present task is to give vigorous support to SALT-2 as a step along the right road. And, indeed, much was said about SALT-2.

But it emerged that according to Professor Falk of Princeton University, SALT-2 "is not connected with main issues of the day," that it is even a

"side-show." It is much better, he added, to muster public opinion for the struggle against atomic power engineering. This was said by Professor Falk, well-known in his day as one of the most active members of the movement against American aggression in Vietnam.

Similar reasoning was shown by Robert Johansen, President of the Institute for World Order. In his pessimistic opinion, "the provisions of the SALT-2 treaty are not desirable enough that individuals and groups who want to reverse the arms race should devote their time, energy, and money to its ratification." Johansen published an article to that point in the June issue of HARPER'S MAGAZINE, arguing that "SALT was never intended to disarm."

Both Falk and Johansen indicate that irrespective of the SALT talks, the American military budget continues to grow and the nuclear arsenal to improve. Johansen makes the quite substantiated supposition that if SALT-2 signified a simultaneous reduction or just freezing of the military budget, the Pentagon would be decisively against it.

Arguments like these have some truth in them. As payment for SALT-2 the American military-industrial complex is demanding--and getting--new weapons systems, such as ground-based mobile missiles MX. Gratification of militarist appetites is explained by the need to placate the "hawks" in the Senate on which ratification of the SALT-2 agreement depends.

And nevertheless the use of the SALT-2 treaty as a pretext for improving American nuclear weapons should not become an excuse for criticizing SALT-2 in general. On the contrary, putting the case for SALT-2 in these conditions with its logic and commitment to go over to SALT-3 and disarmament measures is the only correct answer to plans of the military-industrial complex to arm, arm and arm....

In a similar way, the references by Falk, Johansen and others to concrete provisions of the treaty as failing, in their opinion, to go far enough miss that point that we have before us not an ideal of disarmament, but a sensible compromise made possible at this stage and opening the way further, towards SALT-3, more than that, obliging the signatories to continue what has been started. Without SALT-2 there will be no SALT-3, and to give up SALT-2 because it has failed to reach the SALT-3 level means torpedoing SALT-2.

Falk and other representatives of American liberal-minded quarters, by their demobilizing arguments about the shortcomings of SALT-2, are in fact pandering to the opponents of disarmament attacking SALT-2. Isn't the ferocity of their attack evidence that they consider SALT-2 a real threat to their interests?

Criticism of the good achieved for the best yet to be achieved underestimates the political significance of SALT-2 as a step to resume the interrupted process of building up Soviet-American relations on the principles

of peaceful coexistence so as to prevent the outbreak of a nuclear war.

SALT-2 merits wide public support in all countries and needs vigorous support because of the existence of strong opponents. As the Americans said in a song at the time of the struggle against activities of the U.S. brass hats in South East Asia: give peace a chance!

CSO: 1812

## INTERNATIONAL

### U.S. FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY ANALYZED

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNNYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 4, Apr 79 signed to press 19 Mar 79 pp 45-55

[Article by A. Anikin, E. Kirichenko: "U.S. Foreign Trade Policy"]

[Text] A number of new factors has had an impact on U.S. foreign trade policy in the 1970's. There has primarily been an increase in the participation of the country's economy in the international division of labor. Exports' proportion of GNP increased from an average of 4 percent in the 1960's to 7.2 percent in 1975. Foreign trade has become an important factor of the reproduction process and structural changes in the economy. The United States' positions in capitalism's world economic system have changed, there is a big trade and balance of payments deficit, and the dollar's exchange rate has fallen sharply. There is particular significance in the turnaround toward a relaxation of tension which has taken shape in relations between states with opposed social systems and toward a reorganization of international economic relations on this basis.

#### A Component of Political Strategy

Foreign economic policy has always been a principal element of the strategy and tactics of American imperialism. The "Marshall Plan" was largely occasioned by political requirements. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [GATT] not only corresponded to the interests of the expansion of the U.S. monopolies, but also served as a basis for reinforcing political relations among the capitalist states. With the help of the means of trade policy after World War II the United States secured for itself predominance on the markets of the countries which had been exhausted by the war and simultaneously created the economic basis of NATO. This policy was assigned and is still assigned an important place in the aspiration to retain the developing countries in capitalism's sphere of influence. The prohibitions and restrictions on trade with the socialist states also pursue political aims.

The course of U.S. government policy in specific spheres of foreign economic relations is not distinguished by consistency. It is frequently determined by current market factors and concrete political tasks. At the center of a clash of interests of different political forces, the government pursues a

policy corresponding to the interests primarily of the most influential of them.

The opposing interests of different circles of private capital are expressed in the policy of state-monopoly regulation of foreign trade. The representatives of the capital which is oriented mainly toward the domestic market demand of the administration and Congress the implementation of a protectionist policy. The monopolies, on the other hand, which have become firmly established in the foremost and most competitive sectors and which have created international empires, aspire to an easing of international exchange. They are particularly concerned to open up the U.S. market to goods produced at enterprises of their overseas affiliates. This is leading to an intensification of the contradictions between different groups of American monopolies. At the same time even the giant monopolies with an outlet on the foreign market frequently adopt dual positions. This conflict of interests is largely explained by the inconsistency of the administration's trade-political measures.

The serious foreign economic problems being encountered by the United States are primarily affecting relations with its leading trade partners--Japan and the EEC countries, which have become its main rivals. The 1970's have brought with them a sharp intensification of the competitive struggle and the contradictions between the three centers of imperialism. Whereas the previous decade passed by under the sign of antagonism primarily between the United States and the EEC, relations with Japan--with which the United States has an enormous trade deficit--are at the present time the most important knot of foreign trade contradictions.

In order to prevent a weakening of its competitive positions on the world capitalist market and improve the balance of trade the United States has formulated a whole system of measures designed to curb the influx of imports and to stimulate exports. At the same time American ruling circles realize that an open trade war could undermine the foundations of the capitalist states' economic relations and military-political alliances.

The role of the developing countries in U.S. foreign economic policy increased markedly at the start of the 1970's. Fear of a new oil embargo and the increase in oil prices and the desire to maintain access to raw material sources are forcing the United States to create at least the appearance of concessions in response to these states' demands. Compelled to respond in some way to the program for the establishment of a new economic order, it is attempting to drag out a solution of such problems as increased access of the developing countries' industrial markets supported by a common financing fund. The United States holds tougher positions on a number of these questions than the other developed capitalist states.

The 1970's have been characterized by certain shifts in the development of relations between the United States and the socialist countries. However, the U.S. ruling circles' close linkage of foreign trade with political tasks is having the effect that considerable reserves of economic cooperation remain unutilized.

## Evolution of Aims and Principles

U.S. trade policy has passed through a number of stages since the war. Its foundations have remained the same, although the accent on one or another element of this policy contributing to protection of national markets and capture of foreign markets is changing, the tasks of liberalization (easing of restrictions) are being interpreted differently, and new instruments of protectionism and expansion are being moved to the forefront. This is reflected in the legalization of foreign economic policy. Declaration of the principle of free trade conceals the expansionist aims of the monopolies, which aspire to gain access to the resources and markets of other countries. It was beyond the powers of the partners weakened by the war to break into the U.S. market or have the protectionist barriers there removed.

To the extent that the United States has forfeited the role of absolute leader in the world capitalist economy, it has been forced to take account of the changes in the trade-political conditions of the other capitalist states in its actions. The extension of the international division of labor, the ever increasing interlocking of monopolies of the industrially developed states, the enormous amount of overseas investment, the appearance of more modern means of competitive struggle, the increased role of methods of non-price competition--all this is forcing the industrial countries to agree to a liberalization of tariff-customs practices. The 1960's were characterized by a reduction in customs duties on industrial goods and also by the advance to the forefront of nontariff barriers, which became the main instrument of protectionism.<sup>1</sup> According to data of the U.S. Tariffs Commission, which at the start of the 1970's conducted an inquiry into the practice of the capitalist countries' application of nontariff barriers, the United States was resorting to these barriers comparatively frequently, arming itself with various quantitative restrictions, standards and customs and administrative procedures.<sup>2</sup>

Experiencing the conflicting pressure of different groups of big capital and also of its main partners and, moreover, having encountered the problem of the trade deficit, the U.S. Government has been incapable of formulating a clear-cut foreign economic policy. It is characterized by inconsistency and compromise. The United States participated in the "Tokyo Round" of GATT negotiations, which began in 1973, not only under pressure from its partners but also as the result of objective self-interest in the further development of international trade relations and, consequently, in the removal of the barriers on their path. But the supporters of a protectionist policy gained the upper hand in the United States. The "new approaches" of foreign trade policy in the 1970's have largely been reduced to an intensification of protectionist elements.

These contradictory trends were expressed in the 1974 Trade Act, which represents a compromise between the interests of the leading monopoly groupings. In accordance with this the president acquired the powers to conclude agreements with foreign states, envisaging a change in duties and the lifting of nontariff barriers for a period of 5 years from the time of this act becoming law; but, he was also given unprecedented rights to impose various restrictions on imports of foreign goods. In the hands of the administration the

act has become a flexible instrument which is used according to the circumstances. Circles interested in intensifying or easing protectionism exert considerable influence on the elaboration of foreign trade policy.

Tariff and other barriers have always been a convenient subject of bargaining. As the U.S. agriculture secretary declared back on the eve of the "Kennedy Round" (1964-1967), the administration regards imports of industrial goods as a "lever which will open up the Common Market for American agricultural commodities." The United States is adhering to the same tactics in the "Tokyo Round." Its statesmen very often speak frankly about the need to employ the threat of increased protectionism to force other countries to soften their positions.

The wide-ranging powers which the president has acquired for taking "punitive" steps against those whose actions run counter to the interests of American imperialism represent a sword of Damocles ready at any moment to be brought down on the heads of its partners. Following the passage of the 1974 Trade Act, which stipulated the procedures and the criteria of the attitude toward imports, demands poured in from U.S. companies for steps to be taken to protect them against "unfair" competition. Over 50 complaints from firms of many sectors whose complete satisfaction would have affected imports worth \$13 billion were examined in 1975 alone.<sup>3</sup>

Before also the United States would place artificial barriers in the way of foreign goods in order, having made certain concessions, to demand big privileges in return. This was the aim pursued by the 10-percent import surcharge introduced in 1971. Together with other measures of the so-called new economic policy it was used as an instrument of pressure on its partners. Not venturing to accept the challenge and unleash a trade war at this time, its partners were forced--in exchange for the lifting of the surcharge--to revalue their currencies and "voluntarily" limit commodity exports to the United States. The new Trade Act gave the president the right to introduce a temporary import surcharge of up to 15 percent and to restrict imports with the help of quotas at a time of a serious balance-of-payments deficit or the threat of a fall in the dollar's exchange rate.

The U.S. Government employs trade-political levers depending on the state of the economy and current foreign economic and political tasks. Outright economic egoism and an aspiration to solve its own problems at the expense of other countries--that is, perhaps, one of the most distinguishing characteristics of the U.S. foreign trade platform of the 1970's. Another characteristic is the increasingly clearly manifested differentiated nature of trade-political practice. The bourgeois press is expressing the fear that American policy is undermining GATT activity since it provides for a different attitude toward different partners depending on the degree of their tractability, while the principle of unconditional most-favored-nation treatment is accorded only secondary importance.

#### Means of Trade Policy

Let us examine the instruments of trade policy most actively employed by the United States. The main tendency in the development of American protectionism

is the fact that the traditional means--customs duties--is playing a relatively modest role, but, on the other hand, there is a constant increase in the significance of means which are less apparent and difficult to evaluate. These include agreements on regulating the market. The essence of these is that its partner "voluntarily" and unilaterally agrees to limit or reduce the volume of exports to the United States. This is the latest form of protectionism to have arisen in U.S. practice, the U.S. Tariffs Commission was forced to acknowledge that the "voluntary" export restrictions on steel or textiles, for example, "are possibly regarded by other countries as the most significant barrier to their exports to the United States."<sup>4</sup>

It is the official circles' assurance that the agreements on regulating the market help diminish the sharpness of the U.S. Protectionists' demands for the adoption of tougher measures (permanent tariffs or quotas). In threatening its partners with the introduction of new import barriers the United States is achieving "voluntary" limitations of exports on their part. The 3-year agreement with Japan, which will reduce annual imports of color television receivers from 2.96 million (in 1976) to 1.75 million, may be given as an example. According to certain estimates, a reduction in television imports to just 2 million would raise prices 15 percent on the domestic market and cost the American consumer \$535 million annually.<sup>5</sup>

Essentially such agreements represent a form of the partitioning of world markets leading to an artificial raising of domestic prices. Following the conclusion in 1972 of an agreement with Japanese and West European producers on "voluntary" limitations of steel exports to the United States, the American consumers union sought a court injunction, declaring that it violated antitrust legislation. True, the 1974 Trade Act removed the possibility of judicial prosecution of violators. Politically the agreements on regulating the market represent a very convenient form of protectionism for the United States since the appearance is created here of the voluntary nature of its partners' actions.

Nor is the United States abandoning the direct limitation of imports with the help of rationing (the granting of import licenses and the establishment of quotas). From 1963 through 1970, that is, in the period of the "liberalizing wave," the United States introduced 60 new quotas, while the EEC countries liquidated 11 and Japan 71 quotas.<sup>6</sup> The United States is continuing to apply and change quotas in the 1970's, the more so in that the Trade Act has offered the president extensive opportunities for utilizing this measure. However, it prefers other countries to themselves establish "voluntary" limitations of exports to the United States under the threat of new barriers for imports.

Such old protectionist instruments as compensation and antidumping duties are also employed as a means of pressure on its partners. The first represent supplementary duties imposed on imported commodities exports of which are subsidized by a foreign state. Dumping, according to American laws, is deemed to be the sale of an imported product at a lower than "fair" price. These forms of nontariff barriers have always given rise to serious clashes between the United States and West Europe and Japan in that there is no unity among them regarding what subsidy and what price level is considered "fair."

In October 1978 the European Communities Commission addressed an official warning to R. Strauss, the U.S. President's special representative at the "Tokyo Round." The letter said that if the United States did not abandon the automatic imposition of compensation duties as of January 1979, the signing of an agreement on liberalizing international trade would be put in jeopardy. Denying the extensive use of antidumping duties, W. Eberle, former special presidential representative at the trade talks, referred to the fact that since the war (prior to the adoption of the 1974 Act) 595 complaints about dumping had been received, but that in only 67 cases had the suspicions been justified and sanctions been applied. However, the very procedure of an inquiry into the existence of dumping is such that the importer most frequently prefers to stop the deal. Certain changes in the rules of conducting the inquiry have been made in recent years; the 1974 Trade Act broadened the interpretation of a "fair" price, which created the conditions for the more extensive use of increased duties. Antidumping legislation is becoming a mean of driving import prices up to the level dictated by the American monopolies.

Technical nontariff barriers have acquired great significance: requirements in the sphere of standards and standardized-technical documentation, safety rules in the operation of equipment and requirements concerning the labeling and packaging of goods. Of themselves these rules were dictated by objective requirements, but in the course of the sharpening competitive struggle they are becoming a trade-political weapon which is deliberately used as a discriminatory measure.

Standards, quality requirements and other norms are usually set at a level corresponding with the technical condition of the American product. This blocks access to the U.S. market for many foreign goods. In addition, although the norms should be applied identically to all goods, irrespective of their origin, more often than not they are considerably tougher with respect to foreign products. The system of checking their quality frequently entails big expenses for the exporter and in certain instances becomes a convenient pretext for banning imports. Thus, the U.S. Inspectorate for the Safety of Ship's Equipment provides for the testing of cargo ships in the process of their production, but the checks are carried out only in the United States and only by American experts, which affords an opportunity for halting imports of these ships entirely.<sup>7</sup>

The distinctiveness of the technical standards, which perform the role of barriers on the path of foreign equipment imports, is at the same time posing problems for U.S. exporters. Whereas in the past differences in standards did not serve as an obstacle to exports, now, given the reduction in the "technological gap" between the main capitalist countries, these differences are becoming a serious obstacle to pushing American goods on foreign markets. The United States has begun to participate actively in various international organizations engaged in questions of standardization. It is striving to insure that American standards form the basis of unified international standards.

The packaging and labeling requirements and foreign trade business correspondence have always been and remain palisade through which it is difficult to force one's way. For example, imports of certain French foods are banned on the pretext that the letters on the labels are one-third of a millimeter less than prescribed by the regulation.

Preparing for new clashes on the world markets, the United States is perfecting on the one hand measures to protect the domestic market and, on the other, the forms and methods of foreign economic expansion, and the role of the state in this sphere is growing constantly, moreover. The state's stimulation of exports begins back at the scientific research (financing of scientific research and experimental design work) and production stage. The structural reorganization and retooling of industry to increase product competitiveness are accelerated with the help of budget capital and taxation policy.

At the sales stage use is made of such traditional, long proven means as the financing of exports in accordance with "aid" programs (although its significance has diminished and the "aid" itself is of an increasingly selective nature), the subsidizing of foreign trade shipments, export credits and tax privileges. The latter are frequently realized in new forms: entirely new areas of stimulating sales abroad have also appeared. A wide-ranging mechanism of support for exporters along organizational lines has been developed in the 1970's: their provision with detailed information about the markets, assistance in winning orders and the organization of exhibitions and trade fairs. The role of the foreign trade organs in the state apparatus has increased.

The United States' use of the mechanism of the "floating" dollar exchange rate, for increasing the competitiveness of American products also, is characteristic of the 1970's. The Western press agrees that in the latter half of 1977 the U.S. Administration itself provoked the decline in the dollar's exchange rate, striving for an improvement in the balance of trade. The Department of Commerce is calling on American exporters to expand exports by taking advantage of the favorable foreign currency exchange rates.

In September 1978 the U.S. Administration announced a new program for assisting the expansion of exports. It provides for an increase in the 1979-1980 fiscal year of the Export-Import Bank's credit capabilities to \$4.1 billion. The amount of short-term credit to importers of American agricultural products is increased from \$750 million to \$1.7 billion. And, finally, it is planned to help small and medium firms organize sales of their products abroad.

The present administration's policy of evening up the balance of trade had hitherto mainly been designed to contribute to a reduction in imports. Moreover, pressure has constantly been applied to its trade partners to secure the broader access of American products to their markets. Now the administration has embarked on the more active pushing of exports. As a whole, the program continues the policy of an intensification component of the system of international trade. The U.S. Export-Import Bank is the capitalist world's biggest state credit-finance establishment. It undertakes the

crediting of export supplies and also the guaranteeing and securing of private export credit. The bank's powers are constantly being extended and its credit terms are approaching those granted by other industrially developed countries. This program is increasing still further its significance in the sphere of stimulating exports.

Measures to stimulate exports by smaller companies were adopted even earlier, but they were not very effective.<sup>8</sup> In 1971 Congress passed a bill on tax privileges for companies 95 percent of whose revenue and assets are connected with export operations and which have come to be called DISCS (domestic international sales corporations). And although this act was to have led to the expansion of a large circle of companies' export operations, it has been used primarily by the international monopolies. They began to set up special export affiliates on U.S. territory enjoying the status of a DISC and thus avoiding taxes. Other countries regarded such allowances as an export subsidy. As President J. Carter has declared, the DISC is proving costly to the Treasury Department by failing to secure the anticipated increase in exports, and for this reason he would like to study other tax incentives or, to the extent that Congress supports this system, think about a considerably more limited version of it.

While solemnly appearing as the champion of liberalization the United States is in practice intensifying the protectionist elements of its foreign trade policy and utilizing them as a means of pressure on its partners. This is leading to an exacerbation of the contradictions between the capitalist countries, which were sharply revealed at the GATT negotiations. The United States has had to agree to concessions in questions of tariff disarmament, renouncing a "linear" (that is, uniform) reduction in all duties and agreeing to a larger reduction in the highest duties. As distinct from previous rounds, the "Tokyo Round" is devoting considerable attention to nontariff barriers. The confrontation is particularly forceful here.

As is known, any agreement concerning the removal of nontariff barriers has to be approved by the U.S. Congress. And practice shows that it is very reluctant to agree to a change in the protectionist defense of the domestic market. Describing the U.S. policy, the French journal NOUVELLES ECONOMISTES writes: "The imaginary home of free trade loudly demands free access of American goods to the markets of the whole world, disposing of an entire arsenal of extremely cunning and infinitely perfectible means here preventing the development of competition when it becomes an obstacle in the way of its interests.... American strategy is the strategy of force. The principle of the freedom of trade has become merely another weapon in the arsenal of the means of economic warfare."

#### Trade Relations With the Socialist Countries

The objective trend toward the internationalization of economic relations is an important factor contributing to the development of economic relations between the socialist and capitalist states. The strengthening of the international positions of the world socialist system of the economy, the achievements

of the states incorporated therein in the sphere of production, science and technology and the constant increase in the capacity of their markets are broadening the base for the further development of economic relations. The policy geared to an improvement in the international atmosphere has led to a certain normalization and development of East-West trade and scientific-technical relations. However, the influence of the forces which are ready to make foreign trade policy a source of tension in international relations is still very great in the United States. They are attempting to maintain trade-political conditions in the state that they were in at the time of the "cold war."

As L.I. Brezhnev said in an interview with the American TIME magazine, "it is often difficult even for us to understand Washington's stubborn desire to seek its own advantages in the disadvantage of others. All this was tried out, and repeatedly, moreover, by American politicians in the 'cold war' period. But objective reality led the United States to the conclusion of the need to cooperate with the USSR."

This applies primarily to granting the socialist countries most-favored-nation status. Usually trade contracts and agreements contain the contracting parties' commitments to apply this practice to one another, that is, to extend to this country or the other automatically and without any reservations all the tariff concessions given to other states.<sup>9</sup> The first trade agreement which granted the Soviet Union most-favored-nation status (with certain exceptions, it is true) was signed in 1937. It was a short-term agreement--for 1 year--but was extended to 1951.

A number of reservations was introduced to the trade agreements act in 1951 on the basis of reciprocity. Proceeding from these, the United States denounced the trade agreements with all the socialist countries except for Yugoslavia (regarding Cuba, this decision was adopted later--in 1962--and an embargo on imports of its goods was imposed simultaneously). This sharply narrowed the range of commodity circulation between the United States and the socialist states. Exports of commodities from the socialist countries to the United States can basically only grow via the limited number of non-dutiable commodities or those dutiable at a moderate rate. The increase in the difference between the maximum (firmly fixed in the second column of the tariff) and the privileged rates determined as a result of the customs-tariff disarmament of the capitalist countries is increasing the degree of discrimination against the socialist states.<sup>10</sup>

The 1962 act on the expansion of trade, which afforded an opportunity for a liberalization of trade with the capitalist countries, did not extend the concessions to the socialist states. The administration's attempts to get through Congress in the latter half of the 1960's a bill on trade with the socialist countries proved unsuccessful. Chapter IV of the 1974 Trade Act, which is devoted to the United States' relations with "non-market economy" states, acquired a discriminatory character in the final version (on account of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment). It makes it possible to grant the socialist countries most-favored-nation conditions in trade for a very limited term:

18 months, given Congress's approval (with a right to extend these subsequent 12-month periods). Instead of the unconditional granting of most-favored-nation status, it was hedged around with certain political conditions.

Failure to extend a reduction in duties to the exports of a number of socialist countries with a simultaneous strengthening of nontariff protectionism is making the positions of their goods on the American market more difficult. Thanks to the multifaceted nature of the nontariff barriers, the U.S. authorities have the opportunity of finding a pretext at any time to not only limit imports of competitive products but also stop in practice imports from countries with a state system contrary to the wishes of the United States. Some of the barriers are imposed by the local authorities at state level, which creates even greater conditions for arbitrariness.

The favorite method of the protectionists and opponents of an expansion of trade with the socialist countries is the charge of dumping. Thus an anti-dumping inquiry in connection with a U.S. import of 10,000 Soviet "Moskvich" automobiles began in 1960. The terms and prices of the deal corresponded to the terms and prices in accordance with which these automobiles are sold in West Europe. To speak of the "harm" to the American automobile industry was absurd in view of the relatively small consignment of the goods being imported. And although the U.S. Treasury Department ultimately established that the dumping complaint was unjustified, the prolonged inquiry led to the deal being canceled.

The 1974 Trade Act incorporated provisions concerning antidumping inquiries which are aimed directly against the socialist countries. The United States frequently makes use of protectionist barriers as an instrument of economic and political pressure on its partners. But this practice is particularly prevalent with respect to the socialist countries, and it is political motives which are advanced and foremost, moreover.

The system of control of exports is applied in the same way. It was established back in the "cold war" years on the basis of the 1949 act on export control and the 1951 Battle Act on the control of exports for mutual defense purposes. It is essential for the export of any commodity that it be incorporated in the general license or that an individual export license be issued for it. The list of goods which can be exported to the socialist countries in accordance with the general license is very limited. There is also a list of "strategic goods" whose export to certain countries is prohibited. In addition to the multilateral list compiled by a coordinating committee in Paris (it incorporates Japan and the NATO countries, with the exception of Iceland), the United States has a list of goods whose exports are regulated unilaterally.

The slackening of international tension, the deterioration of competitive positions on the world markets and the pressure of business circles and public opinion have forced the U.S. Administration to alter its trade-political policy somewhat. At the end of the 1960's and start of the 1970's the list of "strategic goods" was reduced, and the act on the control of exports was replaced by a more liberal exports act.

However, the expansion of cooperation is encountering resistance from forces which, under the cover of the slogan of national security, are attempting to halt exports of highly scientific equipment to the CEMA countries. An attempt is being made to persuade public opinion that there is a one-way transfer of important scientific-technical information and that the strengthening of the socialist states' technical potential threatens the United States. Any major deal evokes criticism, and the entire influence of certain circles is set in motion to disrupt it. Thus these groups made big efforts to frustrate fulfillment of contracts for the sale to the Soviet Union of computers and drilling equipment. Not confining itself to unilateral measures, the United States frequently puts pressure on other capitalist countries, aspiring to force them to impose an embargo on supplies of highly scientific equipment which it itself does not sell for political reasons.

The supporters of the "cold war" are attempting to apply the brakes to the development of economic cooperation by undermining currency-credit relations. In 1971 the U.S. Export-Import Bank stopped extending credit for export deals with the Soviet Union, although the granting of credit when elaborate equipment is being supplied is the norm of international practice and the American exporters themselves have an interest in its observance. "Whereas the act controlling exports imposes unduly rigid restrictions and whereas the implementation of this act is a burden to the American exporters, the lack of financing by the Export-Import Bank is simply a catastrophe," W. Verity Jr., chairman of the board of directors of the ARMCO Corporation and cochairman of the American-Soviet Trade-Economic Council, believes. "...Those sections of the 1974 Trade Reform Act and the 1954 act on the Export-Import Bank which limit or prevent the U.S. Export-Import Bank's participation in financing exports to the Soviet Union should be repealed. After a decision has been made on an expansion of trade relations with the USSR, American exporters, in order to be competitive, must receive the same assistance as other countries' exporters receive from their governments."<sup>11</sup>

The administration's aspiration to use trade as an instrument of political pressure on the Soviet Union is arousing the discontent of business circles in the United States itself. They believe that this policy is leading to a pointless loss of a market and is affording West European and Japanese competitors freedom of action. The NEW YORK TIMES writes in this connection: "As representatives of interested business circles declare, the United States' refusal to supply these products (what is meant is computers and drilling equipment--author) to the Soviet Union in an attempt to compel it to pursue a policy welcomed by the U.S. Government is in practice proving to be an absolutely senseless loss of a potentially extensive market for American goods and equipment. At the same time the administration is turning down a chance to reduce the country's balance of trade deficit somewhat, slow down the rapid inflation rate and alleviate the worrying problem of unemployment."

The aspiration to use trade as a political instrument against the socialist countries has had a particular nuance in the 1970's. The artificial cutback

in economic relations simultaneously with the noisy campaign under the "human rights" slogan strikes primarily at detente. U.S. ruling circles also aspire to this. As payment for an easing of international tension they would like to obtain from the socialist countries concessions in the military, political and ideological spheres.

The increased role of political motives in the formulation of the United States' foreign trade policy with respect to the socialist countries is expressed not only in the increasingly close linkage of the problems of the further development of cooperation with military-political requirements but also in the differentiated approach to individual socialist countries with respect to the granting of most-favored-nation terms. At the basis of this lies a definite aim--splitting the socialist community. The principal directions of the "differentiated" foreign economic policy were formulated in the United States back in the mid-1960's but its galvanization is underway right now.

L.I. Brezhnev said in connection with the sixth meeting of the American-Soviet Trade-Economic Council in Moscow: "Of course, every country has its own trade legislation. But far from every country uses it as a kind of faucet to regulate the flow of reciprocal trade depending on the current mood or political situations which arise from time to time. It must be said that in respect of the Soviet Union this approach has never given and will never give anybody any advantage. Attempts at such kinds of pressure merely introduce an element of instability in the trade-economic relations between our countries and call in question the reliability of the United States as a trade partner."

So, changes occurred in recent years in the United States' foreign trade policy: there has been a strengthening of protectionist tendencies, and modern protectionism is of a more veiled and more selective nature, moreover. A differentiated approach and selectivity are perhaps among the most characteristic features of American foreign trade policy. It is easier to use trade-political tools as a means of bringing pressure to bear on a partner this way.

At the same time, under the conditions where the significance of foreign economic relations for the development of the American economy has increased and where there has been an extension of the international division of labor and the internationalization of production and capital, the capitalist states, including the United States, aspire to prevent a further increase in interimperialist contradictions and trade wars. It is with good reason that the leaders of the seven biggest capitalist powers have met four times in the last 3 years to discuss the most acute problems of the world economy, including questions of international trade. The attempt to coordinate their actions and jointly damp down the most explosive conflicts testify that the United States can no longer merely dictate its terms to its partners.

As far as the development of foreign economic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union is concerned, only the removal of discrimination

by the American side will make it an appreciable and stable growth of reciprocal trade possible. This would not only be of practical benefit to both sides but would also contribute to the consolidation of peaceful coexistence, which corresponds to the fundamental interests of all peoples.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. For more detail on nontariff barriers see I. Ivanov and I. D'yakova, "Contemporary Protectionism" (MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA No 2, 1971); and I.I. Dyumulan, "Bar'ery na torgovykh putyakh" [Barriers on the Trade Paths], Moscow, 1977.
2. Of the 376 charges brought against the United States by its trade partners in the use of nontariff protectionist means since the war, 122 concern the imposition of quantitative limitations, 102 delays in imports on account of the arbitrariness of customs authorities and 87 import restrictions with the aid of standards ("Trade Barriers," Report to the Committee on Finance of the U.S. Senate, Washington, 1974, part 1, chapter VI, p 7).
3. NEW YORK TIMES, 9 December 1975.
4. "Trade Barriers," part 1, chapter 1, p 22.
5. BUSINESS WEEK, 6 June 1977, pp 27, 28.
6. FORTUNE, August 1971, p 110.
7. See "Trade Barriers," part 2, chapter X, p 126.
8. The U.S. Department of Commerce believes that an additional 20,000-30,000 firms could have been exporters, but they prefer not to take the risk. Some 200-250 of the biggest companies currently account for 85 percent of total American industrial exports.
9. The bill on the use of the principle of unconditional most-favored-nation treatment was enacted in the United States in 1923. Prior to this, the U.S. Administration had accorded this principle provisionally, proceeding from the volume of concessions in return. Since that time it has been incorporated as a main provision in trade acts. However, they have also included reservations helping in the application of differentiated rates for goods from different countries.
10. The U.S. customs tariff is of two columns. The first column contains privileged rates for countries enjoying most-favored-nation conditions, the second contains the rates which have been maintained since 1930.
11. "The International Review of East-West Trade," American-Soviet Trade Council, 1978, pp 10,15.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### JOURNAL PUBLISHES RESEARCH ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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[Article by M. Maksimova: "The World Economy, the Scientific and Technological Revolution, and International Relations"]

[Text] A collective study on the theory of international relations is being completed in the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The editors of this periodical intend to publish the materials of this study. The articles by M. M. Maksimova begin the cycle of these publications.

The increasing role of international relations is one of the most important features of the contemporary epoch. While reflecting basic social processes which are of a worldwide character, international relations, in their turn, exercise an influence on these processes, on the development of the productive forces of individual countries and of the world as a whole, on the economics and politics of states and systems of states, on the disposition of class forces, and on the social progress of humanity. The interaction between world economics and world politics which was noted by V. I. Lenin is embodied in international relations.

The organic connection between economics and politics and between international economic and political relations is an historical process. It displays unequal manifestations at the different stages of social development, revealing different degrees of depth. But the general tendency consists in the strengthening and growing complexity of the interaction between the economic and political aspects of international life.

This tendency is especially characteristic for the contemporary period when very profound social changes are being combined with major changes caused by the scientific and technological revolution. Whether we are talking about political relations between individual states or between two different systems of states, or about the foreign political activities of a concrete country or a group of countries--behind all this in one way

or another, directly or indirectly, there stand phenomena of an economic order. Among them are the dimensions of the economic and scientific and technical potentials of the two world systems, of individual states, or of groups of states, the level of the development of world science and technology and of the world's productive forces, the degree to which they are drawn into the international division of labor, the scope and character of the economic relations and cooperation of various countries, groups of them, and systems of states, and so forth.

It is impossible to arrive at any kind of reliable and complete analysis of international political relations by abstracting from the sum of changes which have occurred and are occurring in the world economy, in the correlations between economic forces and their basic subjects, and in the dynamics and structure of world economic relations and international economic cooperation. At the same time, it is difficult and sometimes impossible to understand and explain many phenomena in world economics and international economic relations in isolation from an analysis of the correlations between military potentials, the disposition of the basic political forces in the modern world, and from an examination of the international situation as a whole.

The close connection and interaction between international economic and political relations has a profound basis. It consists in the fact that both the former and the latter appear, above all, as social relations. Both the former and the latter are characterized by completely definite general laws which are determined by social nature and by the class character of inter-state relations. And since October, 1917, both the former and the latter have been fully experiencing the influence of the chief law of our epoch--the opposition and struggle of two opposed social systems and their coexistence, competition, and cooperation.

The rapid growth and increasing complexity of the interconnections of international relations in the sphere of economics and politics which is occurring in our time and the great multiplication of their points of contact and interaction is the result of the very great changes which have occurred and are continuing to occur in all of social life in the modern world. But, at the same time, it is also a consequence of the very profound changes which are characteristic for each of these spheres and for each component of international relations.

There is an internal unity, organic connection, and common nature in the processes of the establishment, formation, and development of international relations--economic, on the one hand, and political, on the other. But, along with this, each of them is characterized by its own special features, internal logic and developmental dynamics, and its own tendencies and forms of movement.

In the present articles the author regarded it as advisable to concentrate attention on four groups of problems:

- the formation and development of the world economy, the deepening of the international division of labor, and the fundamental changes in international economic relations;
- the character of the influence of the scientific and technological revolution on international relations in general and on the economic relations between states in particular;
- the increased role of global problems common to all men which require for their solution the collective efforts of states and systems of states;
- the interconnections and growing interaction between economic and political processes in international life.

#### The World Economy and International Economic Relations

Let us first pose the question: What are international economic relations? What is the content and essence of this concept? What is the specific nature of these relations during the contemporary epoch?

It is hardly possible here to give any kind of brief definition. And this is understandable. For international economic relations are an historical category. In their progressive movement they have covered a long and difficult path and a number of stages.

At the early stage they were primarily relations of goods exchanges between tribes, communities, and states, with the gradual formation first of local and then of international markets, but primarily of local or regional importance.

During the epoch of pre-monopoly capitalism--especially with the emergence of large industry during the Industrial Revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries--they meant the rapid development of an international division of labor and of commodity and money exchange between states, the formation of single world prices and of world monies, the formation of a freely competitive world market, and the rapid involvement in it of diverse countries.

During the period of monopolistic capitalism there is not only a further deepening of the international division of labor and an increase in world trade and credit and currency relations, but there also arise new phenomena like the exportation of capital, the formation and functioning of international monopolies, the internationalization of production, and the involvement in world economic relations of practically the entire territory of the earth. Toward the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries the formation is completed of the world capitalist economy which binds together the national economies of the capitalist countries through the mechanism of international economic relations founded on the

laws of profit and the competitive struggle. At the same time, the formation of the colonial system of imperialism is concluded.

Capitalism has played an ambiguous and profoundly contradictory role in the creation of the world economy. To the extent that capitalism as a more progressive social system than the preceding formations promoted the objective tendency toward international economic exchange and the division of labor, it performed, in Lenin's definition, "progressive historical work," destroying the isolation which had developed in the past, promoting the internationalization of economic life, and binding "all of the countries of the world into a single economic whole."<sup>1</sup> But capitalism as a system with a complete inevitability also engendered the contradictions which are organically characteristic of it and which cause profound crises in the world market and in the world capitalist economy as a whole. These contradictions reveal themselves with the greatest force at the stage of imperialism as a result of such factors which are characteristic of it as the economic and territorial division of the world by the largest international alliances of monopolies, inter-imperialist rivalry, and the establishment of a world system of exploitation of the vast majority of the peoples of the world by a handful of imperialist powers.

With the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia, when the world entered into a transitional historical epoch--the epoch of revolutions and the gradual transition from capitalism to the world victory of socialism--a new period begins in the development of international economic relations.

First of all, the very character of the world economy changes. Imperialism loses its former monopoly. Alongside the world capitalist economy, a socialist economy is born, develops, and grows stronger. These two economies, representing two different systems of social relations, oppose each other. But, at the same time, as V. I. Lenin repeatedly emphasized, Soviet Russia continues to remain within the world economy as its component part, exercising a revolutionizing influence on the entire system of world economic relations and waging a struggle for the transformation of this economy on the basis of new principles which accord with the interests of the world proletariat.

At the same time, the social structure of international economic relations changes. Along with the relations which are characteristic of the world communist economy and which retain in full measure the features and laws characteristic of the capitalist method of production and the capitalist division of labor, there appears a new transitional type of relations--between a socialist state in the person of Soviet Russia, on the one hand, and the countries of the world capitalist system, on the other hand. This type of relations develops on the basis of laws which reflect differences in the forms of property and production relations within states with opposite social systems. For the first time in history an international economic community is formed which is based not on relations of

exploitation, dominance, and subordination, but on the principles of mutual gain, equality, and respect for the sovereignty of states.

With the formation of the world socialist system the balance of power in the world changes sharply in favor of socialism. The creation and rapid development of the world socialist market and of the world socialist economy has given rise to an even greater than previously narrowing of the territorial sphere of the domination of capitalism and to a deepening of its general crisis and has determined further progressive changes in the world economy and in its social structure.

After World War II the world economy is no longer simply an aggregate of different national economies which belong to fundamentally different social systems and which are bound together by the international division of labor. It is at the same time an aggregate of two world economic systems--the socialist and the capitalist--which are in a certain interaction with one another. Its character is complex and contradictory: the conflict and competition of the two systems is combined and interwoven with relationships of cooperation. At the same time, the general tendency consists in the fact that the world capitalist economy, having lost its former monopoly but still possessing a preponderance over socialism in a number of fields of the economy, in the historical future gradually and steadily loses its positions and the balance of power changes in favor of world socialism which is advancing toward its establishment on a world scale.

In keeping with the socio-economic structure of the world economy, world economic relations have acquired a new aspect and a new content. They include relations of various forms and various types.

First of all, a fundamentally new type of international economic relations is born, takes shape, and receives an intensive development within the framework of the world socialist economy. These are relations based on the socio-economic and political community of interests of the socialist countries and on the lofty principles of socialist internationalism, and complete mutual trust, support, and mutual assistance. The rapid development of the productive forces in these countries, the growth of their industrial and scientific and technical potentials, the use of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, and an improvement of socialist social relations in each of the countries create the preconditions for an extensive economic cooperation between them, for the formation and deepening of an international socialist division of labor, and for the strengthening of relations on the world socialist market. Mutual trade is combined here with scientific and technical cooperation, production cooperation, the joint construction of enterprises, and other forms of relations. The socialist countries, united by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, are on a qualitatively higher level of international cooperation--socialist economic integration.

The period which has passed since the end of World War II has also brought large changes in the world capitalist economy. They are a consequence both of the internal laws of its development and of the influence on it of socialism, the world revolutionary process, the struggle and competition of the two systems, and the scientific and technological revolution.

Thanks to the national-liberation movement, the process of the breakup and elimination of the colonial system is coming to a conclusion. A large group of developing states which have won political independence and which occupy a special place in the world capitalist economy are coming to the forefront of international life. In place of relations of a colonial type which existed between the metropolitan countries and the colonies, economic relations of a different character are arriving--between developed capitalist countries and the developing states which are to a large extent still economically dependent upon them but which are politically independent and most of which are opposed to imperialist oppression and exploitation, opposed to neocolonialism, and for a new economic order. Since the group of young liberated states are socially not homogeneous--they range from countries with a socialist orientation to states which are following the capitalist path,--there exists a socially variegated mosaic of their economic relations with the developed capitalist countries.

Economic relations between the liberated states are also developing. Moreover, in different regions (in particular, in Latin America, the Near East, in Central Africa, and in Southeast Asia) regional economic associations of these countries are being created as a unique manifestation of integration processes.

Important changes are also taking place in the relations among the imperialist states. Among the most important of them are an unprecedented expansion of the activities of international monopolies and their foreign enterprises, the creation of large inter-national production complexes of a monopolistic character, the formation of a number of new inter-national markets in credit and monetary (for example the Euro dollar and Euro-currency markets) and in other spheres, and a strengthening of economic trade, currency and financial, scientific and technical, and other relations between the developed capitalist countries. Every one of the imperialist states is characterized by a rapid growth of state-monopoly capitalism, particularly an expansion of the foreign economic functions of the bourgeois state. Along with the private monopolies which are continuing to dominate the world capitalist market, the state is becoming a subject of international economic relations, in the sense of the increasing importance of enterprises of the nationalized sector and of the direct activities of governments and their institutions. State-monopoly regulation of the economy is going beyond national borders and is gradually acquiring an international character. Processes of the capitalist economic integration of the countries which are united by the European Community are developing in Western Europe. At the same time, by virtue of the very nature of

capitalism, the tendencies toward cooperation between the capitalist states are being opposed by rivalry and inter-imperialist contradictions and by the intensifying struggle between the basic centers of modern capitalism--the United States, Western Europe, and Japan.

The existence within the world economy of two different economic systems --the capitalist and the socialist,--as has already been noted, has not and does not signify their isolation from one another. Even during the period of the "Cold War," during the 1950's and the 1960's, trade and other relations between states with opposed social systems did not stop and, albeit slowly, they did continue to develop. With the onset of the process of international detente, and the weakening of tensions in world trade, scientific and technical, and industrial cooperation between the socialist states and the countries of a different social system grow stronger and expand.

The socialist states are placing such principles at the basis of their relations with the capitalist countries as the equality of the sides, mutual advantage, and non-intervention in the internal affairs of one another. The relations of the socialist countries with the developing states are based on a coincidence of interests with regard to such vitally important questions as the struggle against neocolonialism and racist and facist regimes, against all forms of violence and exploitation, and against discrimination in international relations. As for the economic cooperation between the socialist states and the group of developing countries which have selected the path of a socialist orientation, it contains the more profound basis which is founded in the common nature of a number of their political and socio-economic interests and goals.

Historically, the international division of labor and the economic relations between states developed as a result of bilateral trade and other deals and agreements between the enterprises, economic associations, and governments of various countries. In the past, multilateral cooperation had an episodic character and appeared primarily in the form of economic and customs unions between states. However, due to the special features of international economic relations after World War II, along with bilateral relations, there has been a wide development of cooperation on a multilateral basis. It reaches its most developed stage in relations between countries with the same type of social system in the form of economic integration processes. Socialist integration and capitalist integration, while they have a number of common objective prerequisites which are in the high level of the development of productive forces, in the internationalization of production, and in the international division of labor, at the same time, are developing according to different laws and have different economic and socio-political consequences. In a number of spheres of economic life the need also arises for multilateral cooperation between states which belong to different social systems--both on a regional level (for example, within all of Europe) and on a world level.

In the latter case we are speaking about cooperation between states within the framework of the UN and of other international institutions and organizations on a wide range of economic, scientific and technical, and social problems.

Thus, international economic relations are not something which is given once and for all. During a long period of history they have undergone genuinely revolutionary changes in their development.

This applies to the social structure of international economic relations --they have become extraordinarily complex, have become more manifold in their character and basic types, and have acquired a fundamentally new content.

This applies to the subjects of the relations. They are not only private capitalist monopolies--the national, transnational, and international monopolies and the bourgeois states and their international institutions, --but also socialist economic associations, and socialist states and their international organizations, and also the developing countries and their enterprises, associations, and regional institutions, and, finally, world economic institutions.

This applies to the dimensions and spheres of the action of international economic relations. They embrace both all of the territories of the world and all of the countries, regions, and continents as well as the most diverse fields of human activity--science and technology, industry and agriculture, transportation and communications, and trade and tourism. The most diverse resources--natural, human, material, and financial resources--are being involved on an increasing scope in world economic relations.

If one were to bring together the most important elements which comprise the essence of international economic relations in the form in which they have developed at the present historical stage, it would be possible, in our view, to distinguish a number of characteristics and specific features which mark it.

Present-day international economic relations are world relations of a transitional character. They comprise:

--the aggregate of the various types and forms of international economic relations which have been developing as a result of the interaction, the struggle, and the cooperation of states and systems of states in relation to the nature of their social systems;

--the system of economic (trade, scientific and technical, production, credit and finance, and others) relations between the enterprises, economic associations, organizations, and institutions of various countries--

relations which are founded on the international division of labor and on the specialization of production, and also on labor cooperation and joint economic activity;

--the system of relations of an integration character within the framework of multinational production complexes (international corporations and international economic associations), of regional economic complexes (inter-state economic associations), and also between these complexes and the national enterprises, associations, and state apparatus of various countries;

--a unique synthesis of diverse foreign economic courses and actions which are carried out both by different states and by inter-state institutions and organizations.

In giving a characterization of international economic relations, we have attempted to reflect only their most common features and characteristics, understanding clearly that life and reality are always immeasurably fuller, more complex, and more diverse than any schemes or definitions.

An analysis shows, international economic relations are an historical category and, at the same time, a political-economic, social, and class category. Every concrete historical stage is characterized by specific dimensions and levels of the development of the international division of labor, of the internationalization of economic life, and of the economic exchange between states and, along with this, by a completely concrete social structure of international economic relations which in one way or another reflects both the character of the social organization, goals, and policies of individual states and the class structure of the world as a whole.

A characteristic feature of the international economic relations of the present epoch consists in the fact that the process of the internationalization of economic life and of a wide international economic exchange is developing simultaneously with a process of the strengthening of the national independence of states, of a struggle for genuine sovereignty, and of a growth of national self-consciousness. In keeping with the social nature of their subjects, international economic relations embody at the same time relations in cooperation, struggle and rivalry, rapprochement and joint actions, and the deepest contradictions.

If we were to summarize the factors which influence international economic relations and define their inner dynamics and developmental tendencies, the following would be the most important of them:

--first, the method of production and the social relations which are dominant within states and which exercise an influence on the character of the international division of labor, on the real content of the relationships between production and the foreign market, and on the economic relations between states;

--secondly, the level of the development of the productive forces, science and technology, and production specialization which, according to V. I. Lenin's definition, "is in its very essence infinite--just as the development of technology....the progress of technology has to entail the specialization of various parts of production, their socialization, and, consequently an increase in the market."<sup>2</sup> And the development of the domestic market and of the division of labor inevitably entails an expansion of foreign relations, of the farm market, of the international division of labor, and of economic exchange;

--thirdly, the world economy as a whole. International economic relations are directly influenced by the processes which take place in the world economy--changes in the disposition of the productive forces, the population, labor power, the branches of material and non-material production in countries, regions, and continents, the dynamics of the development of world productive forces, the scope and structure of aggregate supply and demand on the world market, changes in the social structure of the world economy, the correlations between the two world systems, the developed capitalist countries and the developing states, the chief centers of imperialism, and so forth;

--and, fourthly, world politics in the wide sense of the word, meaning the domestic and foreign policies of individual states and groups of states--socialist, capitalist, and developing states,--international political relations, and the disposition of the basic class and social forces in the world.

Naturally, the action of the above forces is not direct and simple. In some cases, they have a stimulating influence on international economic relations, speeding up the process of their developing and fostering their progressive movement forward. In others, on the contrary, they complicate and hold back this development, give rise to negative consequences, and lead to an aggravation of existing and to the appearance of new contradictions in various spheres of world economic relations and between their various subjects.

International economic exchange is a product of the development of domestic material production and of the division of labor, of scientific and technological progress, and of production specialization within individual countries. At the same time, world economic relations themselves are one of the important factors in the growth of the productive forces and in the scientific and technical and economic development of states.

The processes of the international division of labor and of the internationalization of production are promoting the formation of a world market and a world economy and are leading to a strengthening of the interdependence of national economies with the same social systems and to an expansion of the field of interaction for states with opposed methods of production. But along with this, as has already been noted,

the very world economy and all of its social structure is exercising a growing influence on the system of international economic relations and, through them, on the economic and social processes within individual states. In other words, we are dealing both with direct and with feedback reactions. However, in this case, these reactions and the interaction between domestic economies, international economic relations, and the world economy comprise a complex and contradictory process which is to a large extent accompanied by different consequences for different states and groups of states and for the different world economic systems. At the basis of these differences lie phenomena both of an economic nature--the sizes of a concrete country, group of countries, system of states, their economic potential, the degree of their participation in the international division of labor, the level of their dependence upon foreign natural resources, their place in the world economy, and so forth, and of a socio-political nature--the character of the world economic system, the type of international economic relations (socialist, capitalist, transitional), the social system which is dominant in a country, its domestic and foreign policies, and the international situation as a whole.

Thus, we have an intricate complex of factors which determine the dynamics and structure of international economic relations and the lines of the relationships between the various components of the world economy. Beginning with the second half of the 20th century the scientific and technological revolution became one of the most important of these factors.

#### The Scientific and Technological Revolution and International Relations

The revolutionary changes in science, engineering, and technology which are characteristic of our time have brought about a genuine revolution in the productive forces of human society. They have fundamentally changed the means of production and the objects of labor, have had an important influence on the structure of the active population and on labor power, have created unprecedented opportunities for the transformation of nature, and have sped up the process of the development of world civilization at a gigantic rate. In addition, one of the important characteristics of the present scientific and technological revolution consists in the fact that it has caused major changes not only in material production, but in practically all of the spheres of human activity and has and continues to exercise a profound influence both on the internal economic and political life of various countries, above all, the industrially developed ones, and on the entire system of international relations, on global processes in the world.

The role of the scientific and technological revolution in international relations is truly manifold. Scientific and technological progress has engendered changes in international relations and, moreover, changes of a most diverse character: quantitative and qualitative, positive and negative, short-term and long-term, and local, regional, and world changes. The consequences of scientific and technological progress are having a largely diverse effect on international relations within the world socialist system, within the world capitalist economy, and in relation to world relations as a whole. The unique nature of the influence of the scientific and technological revolution on the various components and spheres of international relations--economics, politics, military affairs, ideology--is indisputable.

Finally, and it is especially important to emphasize this, the development of the scientific and technological revolution coincided in time and is closely interconnected with fundamental socio-political changes which have changed the entire appearance of the contemporary world. The most important of them is the formation and strengthening of the world socialist system, a fundamentally new balance of power on the world arena and the growth of the influence of the socialist states on the course of world events, a deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and the development of the world revolutionary process, and the collapse of colonialism and increased role of the developing countries in world politics and economics. Many important tendencies in contemporary international relations are, as a rule, the result of the development of and the rapid changes in the socio-political picture of the world and of the scientific and technological revolution. Nevertheless, each of these processes brings its own specific features to the establishment, formation, and development of the basic tendencies.

If we distinguish the most common and the most characteristic directions of the changes occurring in international relations, they divide themselves into two groups:

--the first consists of fundamental and qualitative progressive changes in the entire system of international relations and, above all, in such key questions as the problem of war and peace and the turning away from explosive tensions and the "Cold War" to the peaceful coexistence of states with different systems and to international security and detente; changes in the very ideas regarding the power of states and systems of states and the balance of power; an exacerbation of common human global problems and the necessity for solving them; a growing need for the creation of the kind of system of international relations which would respond to the interests of all of the peoples of the world;

--the second consists of an enormous intensification of international relations, a great expansion of the sphere of international exchange, the involvement in it of the most diverse fields of human activity (economics and law, science and technology, politics and military affairs, education

and culture, and so forth), and the coming into active international life of more and more new countries, social movements and organizations, and of the popular masses.

What is the role of the scientific and technological revolution in the development of the basic tendencies of international relations?

The scientific and technological revolution has been and continues to be of paramount importance for international relations in the military sphere. And it is not only the fact that the very important scientific discoveries and the revolution in equipment towards the middle of the 20th century found their first embodiment in the military field, having developed into a technical military revolution. It is well known that in the past also the latest scientific and technical achievements frequently were employed in military matters more rapidly and more extensively than in other fields of social activity. The main point lies elsewhere--in the fact that the contemporary technical military revolution taken in a complex with socio-political factors has raised the problem of war and peace in a new way. Paradoxical as this may seem at first glance, the technical military revolution contains within itself an impulse toward a new World War of unprecedented power and consequences and bears a fatal threat for all mankind, and, at the same time, is helping to create the preconditions for preventing a world thermo-nuclear catastrophe. This dual and internally contradictory role of the technical military revolution follows from the special character of modern military equipment and the highly dangerous consequences which the present means of waging war are capable of bringing about.

Both the nuclear weapons of mass destruction which have already been built up in enormous quantities and the potentially even more terrifying forms of them contain a threat not only of striking great masses of population numbering in the hundreds of millions of lives, but also the severest consequences for the future generations of people and for everything alive on the earth.

As a result of the fundamental changes in the military sphere, classes and parties and political leaders and governments have found themselves before a dilemma: either subject the peoples to the threat of a nuclear catastrophe and of the destruction of world civilization, or find radical means of preventing a new World War and of limiting the arms race. The peoples of absolutely all of the countries of the world have an interest in a positive solution of the most acute problem of modern times--the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe. This to a large extent has determined so qualitative a change in international relations as the involvement in them of ever wider popular masses, anti-war movements, and public organizations which are struggling for peace and for a peaceful settlement of international conflicts.

However, the creation as a result of the technical military revolution of means of destruction unprecedented in their power by no means signifies, as bourgeois scholars sometimes assert, a diminished role for the class character of the problem of war and peace and it does not cancel its socio-political content. The issues of war and peace are now being decided under the conditions of the coexistence and struggle of the two world systems, the changing balance of power in favor of world socialism, the strengthening of its political, economic, and military role, an upsurge in national-liberation revolutions, and the development of the communist and workers' movement in imperialism's rear. And it is quite in keeping with law that imperialism, while it possesses a military-industrial complex of unprecedented dimensions which was created during the postwar period and while it remains the bearer of militaristic tendencies, has been compelled by the force of circumstances to reckon with the new international situation and with the new conditions of its existence.

The imperialist forces have proven to be incapable of realizing the potentials of the technical military revolution and of putting the gigantic military machine created by them into action in order to struggle against world socialism. The bourgeois governments of a number of countries have preferred to take the path of a relaxation of international tensions. And they are being compelled to do this not by the consequences of the qualitative changes in the technical military field as such, but, first of all, by the fundamental changes in the balance of power between the two opposed world systems and, above all, in the balance of the military potentials of the USSR and the United States.

The successes of the Soviet Union in the creation of thermonuclear weapons, in missile building, and in space technology and its ability to rapidly master the most important achievements of the scientific and technological revolution for the purpose of strengthening its economic and defensive might have made it possible to eliminate the previous strategic invulnerability of the United States and have compelled imperialism to refrain from unleashing a new World War. The economic and military might of the USSR are not only ensuring the security of the socialist states, but are also a very important factor in international security, in lessening tensions, and in strengthening peace throughout the entire world.

The significance of the scientific and technological revolution for the struggle and competition between the two world systems and for the development of international relations is by no means limited to the purely military sphere; the balance of power between the capitalist world and the socialist world is not only measured by the dimensions and quality of their military potentials.

First of all, the very possession of the kind of potential which is on the level of the latest technical military achievements is inconceivable without the existence of a correspondingly developed economic and scientific and technical base. Considering the fact that the borders of the modern scientific discoveries which are used both in the civilian and in the military spheres are exceptionally mobile, only a country which possesses a powerful economic and scientific and technical potential, a developed educational system, and highly qualified cadres of specialists in the most diverse fields of activity is capable of maintaining its military potential on the level of modern requirements.

Secondly, the completely obvious limits which have been encountered by the military and foreign policies of imperialism and the qualitatively different international situation compared to past periods of history in which there has arisen an objective possibility for preventing the unleashing of a third World War--all of this has promoted the appearance and development of a new tendency in international relations. Its essence is in a shift of the center of gravity in the struggle between the two world systems from military to non-military means and the gradual establishment in international relations of the principles of peaceful coexistence, competition, and cooperation.

The scientific and technological revolution has played and continues to play a special role in this connection. Along with economics, it is turning into one of the main spheres of the competition between socialism and capitalism. The outcome of this competition will be determined to a large extent not only by the ability of the states of each of the social systems to remain at the highest levels of world scientific thought, but also by their possibilities for using the fruits of the scientific and technological revolution for economic and social progress in their countries and for ensuring the well-being and a high quality of life for peoples and their social, cultural, and spiritual development. The advantages of socialism as a more advanced social system than capitalism and the combination of socialism and the scientific and technological revolution are creating the objective preconditions for its victory in the historical competition between the two systems.

The scientific and technological revolution is exercising a serious influence on the totality of relations between states.

Since it is deeply international in its nature, science does not know borders. It has an essential influence on the national economies of states and on the various aspects of their domestic economic, political, and social lives. And because of this and in view of the fact that science has turned into a productive force of society, scientific knowledge, technical experience, and technology have become an object of extensive international exchange. Even the largest states in the world, such as the USSR and the United States, are not capable of providing with equal effectiveness

for the development of science literally along its entire front and in all of its directions. Hence, the need for international scientific and technical cooperation. This need has a tendency to grow stronger also because of the increasing cost of scientific research and development and the growth of the scope of science-intensive productions.

The penetration of the secrets of the cosmos, the discovery and peaceful use of atomic energy, and the achievements in electronics, aviation, medicine, and biology have opened up limitless prospects for mankind. At the same time, these discoveries, and, especially, their mastery and commercial realization demands a much greater concentration than ever before of material and financial resources and the unification of the efforts of scientists and specialists of various countries. Having become an independent field of international relations, scientific and technical cooperation has become one of the powerful factors in economizing resources and time, stimulating economic growth, and accelerating scientific and technological progress in the world.

The influence of the scientific and technological revolution is also being reflected in the fact that by creating new possibilities for the re-equipping of production and for increasing its optimal size, it is leading to a deep specialization and to production cooperation which is closely connected with it and to the development of an international division of labor and a comprehensive expansion of trade, industrial, and credit and financial relations between states. An outstripping growth of world trade compared to the increase in world industrial and agricultural production is the specific feature of the postwar stage of the development of international economic relations and one of the long-term world tendencies which is characteristic of the second half of the 20th century. Thus, during the period 1950-1977 the industrial production of the capitalist world increased by 3.6 times, while the amount of exports during the same period increased by almost 7 times.

It is very characteristic that the above-noted tendency is typical for the vast majority of the world's states, regardless of their social system. The need of countries for an increasingly deep participation in the international division of labor and their involvement in the process of international exchange in the most diverse spheres of material and non-material production has led to the appearance, along with trade, of new forms and methods of international economic cooperation--production cooperation, the construction of industrial and other facilities by several states, the creation of joint enterprises with the participation of two or more countries, and so forth.

The truly colossal progress which has been achieved by world science and practice in the creation of international communications and the improvement of communications and information systems is of paramount importance for international relations. The development of new high-speed means of moving

people and freight over land and water and in the air, the creation of modern types of radio and television communications, including space communications, and the modern methods of obtaining, processing, storing, and supplying information by means of electronic computers are leading to an unprecedented strengthening of communications between people and are promoting the rapid development of the tendency noted by V. I. Lenin toward an internationalization of economic life and of science and culture.

There has been an immeasurable growth of the information possessed by the population of the world about the events of international life. It is now not only difficult, but simply impossible to hide from the peoples of even the most remote regions any significant international events. Any military conflict, no matter where it arises, very rapidly becomes known in the world. Literally only minutes are needed for necessary information to be transmitted and received by government leaders and the government institutions of practically every state.

Thanks to the modern types of communications and means of moving people and freight, including for military purposes, there has been an enormous increase in the possibility for immediate intervention by states in one or another potential or real military conflict, particularly by means of rapidly moving large military units and armaments over large distances.

Of course, such possibilities can be used by various states, classes, parties, and governments for different ends and can lead to different consequences. Thus, postwar history provides quite a few examples of how rapid armed intervention by imperialist forces in the internal affairs of the states of Asia, Africa, and Latin America greatly accelerated the development of conflict situations, gave them an international character, and led to an aggravation of the situation. At the same time, never before have the progressive, peace-loving forces and all of mankind possessed such favorable technical possibilities for a rapid and efficient coordination of foreign policy actions between governments for the purpose of preventing or extinguishing international conflicts at any point of the earth. In the same way, there has been a great expansion of the possibilities for an exchange of opinions and of mutual information and for a coordination of the activities of governments in the most diverse aspects of their relations.

The revolution in the means of communication, information, and transportation in combination with other factors has had an important influence on the scope and character of the international intercourse between people. Population migration from certain countries and areas of the world into others is growing at rapid rates. International tourism has increased by hundreds of times. Thanks to modern equipment there has been a substantial lowering of the so-called "language barrier" and there are greater possibilities for regularly holding large international forums, meetings, consultations, and conferences. Any international issue, any important problem becomes a subject of discussion and of an exchange of opinions

between scientists, politicians, and specialists from the interested countries of the world--mankind did not possess such possibilities in the past. All of this is undoubtedly greatly accelerating the process of the development of international relations, expanding their framework, involving an increasing number of ever new subjects in this process, increasing their communication with one another, and promoting the involvement in international relations of various spheres of human activity.

However, no matter how great the importance of the scientific and technological revolution, this factor alone cannot explain the great changes which have occurred and which are continuing to occur in international relations in the second half of the 20th century. The achievements of the scientific and technological revolution can be used and are used in certain cases by states and the classes and parties which stand behind them in the interest of social progress and of strengthening peace and security. In other cases, however, when it is a matter of reactionary governments, the representatives of the military-industrial complex, and pro-fascist and racist regimes these same achievements are used for directly opposite purposes. This once again convinces us of the necessity for an overall approach to the analysis of such a complex sphere of social life as international relations and of the necessity for taking account of the full totality of the conditions which determine the dynamics of their development and, above all, of socio-political factors.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol. 3, p. 57.
2. Ibid., Vol. 1, pp 95-96.

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CSO: 1800

INTERNATIONAL

CPSU DELEGATION HOLDS TALKS WITH DANISH CP

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jun 79 p 4 LD

[TASS report: "Delegation's Stay"]

[Text] Copenhagen, 19 June--A delegation of CPSU party workers headed by V. M. Kavun, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Zhitomirskiy Obkom, was in Denmark from 12 through 19 June at the invitation of the Danish Communist Party [DKP] Central Committee. The delegation had a meeting with representatives of the DKP leadership and familiarized itself with the work of DKP party organizations. Meetings with Danish comrades passed in a spirit of fraternal unity and solidarity.

The Danish communists evaluated highly the contribution of the CPSU and the Soviet Union to the cause of strengthening the relaxation of international tension, peace and security among the peoples. They emphasized the importance of the meeting between L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and U.S. President J. Carter and of the SALT II treaty signed at that meeting.

CSO: 1800

INTERNATIONAL

SOMOZA GAMBLING ON INTERNATIONALIZING NICARAGUA CONFLICT

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jun 79 p 5 LD

[Sergey Svistunov "Commentator's Column": "Dictator's Death Throes"]

[Text] The patriots of the Sandinista National Liberation Front are increasing their strikes against the rotten reactionary dictatorship in Nicaragua. A majority of the country's large cities are totally or partly in rebel hands.

New, revolutionary organs of power are being formed on the liberated territory. The creation of a provisional democratic government for Nicaragua's rebirth was announced recently. It includes representatives of diverse political forces, including the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

The reactionary Somoza regime is becoming increasingly isolated in the international arena with every passing day. Indignant at the policy of genocide being pursued by the dictator, the countries of the Andean pact--Bolivia, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru and Ecuador--have proclaimed in a joint statement that Nicaragua is in "a state of war" and that the Sandinistas are seeking to establish true democracy, freedom and justice in Nicaragua. Following on Costa Rica and Mexico, Ecuador and Panama have broken off diplomatic relations with the Somoza government. The dictator's attempts to set in motion the interventionist machinery of the CAS, to which he addressed a "complaint" of "aggression" by neighboring Costa Rica, have also failed.

Having been "shown the door" at the CAS, the dictator and his imperialist guardians are now hastening to organize other "fire brigades" in order to put out the flames of the people's war with their help. To this end, so the press reports, the Pentagon has drawn up an operation code-named "Black Fury II." The Panama Canal Zone, where a concentration of American army military contingents has recently been observed, has been chosen as the initial base of the aggression that is being prepared.

The satellites of American imperialism have also been rallied to the standards of the intervention that is being prepared. The notorious Central American Defense Council (CONDECA) is hurriedly forming an expeditionary corps of military subunits from Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador, which

are already fighting on Nicaraguan territory in a number of regions of the country. The world press reports that approximately 2,500 foreign mercenaries from the United States, Chile, South Korea and a number of other states are also fighting in the ranks of punitive soldiers.

All this indicates that Somoza and his patrons, trying to save the regime in its death throes, are gambling on internationalizing the conflict in Nicaragua.

CSO: 1800

INTERNATIONAL

MX DECISION THREATENS TO SPUR ARMS RACE

Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jun 79 p 3 LD

[Article from military-technical review by Col Engr L. Nechayuk and Lt Col Engr V. Talanov, candidate of technical sciences: "To the Advantage of the Military-Industrial Complex"]

[Text] A week ago it was decided in the United States to embark on the creation and deployment of the new ICBM designated by the initials MX. According to an AP report it has been decided to build 200 such missiles and to deploy them in underground launching positions. What is the nature of the new missile system whose development began back in 1974 and is now in full swing?

According to the Pentagon's plan, the MX is to form the basis of the U.S. arsenal of land-based strategic missiles in the eighties. It is a three-stage solid-fuel ballistic missile with a launch weight of 68-77 tons, twice the size of the U.S. Minuteman III strategic missile now in use.

According to calculations the MX will be able to deliver to a target 10,000 km away a MIRV consisting of 10-14 thermonuclear-charged warheads. Before launching, the missile itself is placed in a canister which, depending on where the missile is based, may be installed in a silo, on a transporter-launcher or on board an aircraft of appropriate capacity. To judge from recent press reports preference has been given to one of the land-based methods.

It is characteristic that, without waiting for a formal decision on the creation of the new type of strategic missile, the Pentagon has already determined the main subcontractors--the companies which will receive orders for the assembly of missiles and the production of missiles and guidance and control systems. The cost of the development of the new strategic missile system will be tens of billions of dollars. In the opinion of the engineering magazine NEW RECORD, flight tests of the MX can now begin in 1984 and series production a year later.

The decision to develop the new system of strategic missile weapons, clearly taken to the benefit of the U.S. military-industrial complex--as many U.S. public and political figures rightly note--is fraught with the danger of the arms race being sharply urged on.

INTERNATIONAL

REVANCHIST APPEALS OF W. GERMAN 'EXILES' HIT

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jun 79 p 5 LD

[Vladimir Mikhaylov "Commentator's Column": "Revanchist Sallies"]

[Text] Bonn--In the first few days of June big rallies of revanchist leagues and associations of fellow countrymen were held in several big West German cities. At one time these organizations had receded into the shadows, but now they are again trying to emerge into the foreground.

In Munich the main speaker at a meeting of the "Association of Sudeten Germans" was Strauss, head of the Bavarian government. He called for "the Germany of the 1937 borders" to be considered the Germans' homeland. Becher leader of the "Association of Sudeten Germans" and a Bundestag deputy for the Christian Social Union, immediately called for the struggle for the "right to the homeland," that is, for the territories of neighboring Czechoslovakia.

It is not a question of a chance resurgence of revanchism in the FRG, but of the planned use of the organizations of so-called exiles to shift the country's political life to the right. Not for nothing are the revanchist leagues and associations of fellow countrymen not only maintaining themselves as a reserve army of reaction, but also swelling their ranks all the time. Even the children of those families where only one parent originates, according to the revanchists' definition, from the "Eastern German lands" are declared "exiles."

Not long before the rallies the Christian Democratic Union Board held a special conference with the heads of the "League of Exiles." There, apparently, the aim was adopted by stepping up work to discredit treaties and agreements with socialist countries and of launching a propaganda campaign under the slogan "Germany With the 1937 Borders." And as if by command, at all the revanchist meetings the speakers tried to represent the conclusion of treaties with socialist countries as a "betrayal of German interests."

The political program put forward at the rallies proclaims as its main goal the alteration of postwar borders in Europe. It is in complete contradiction to the provisions of the final act of the Helsinki all-European Conference, and also to the FRG government's policy and the aspirations of broad strata of the West German population. In this connection perplexity cannot fail to be aroused by the fact that until now the revanchist organizations' activity has been based on state financial support.

It is quite obvious that the revanchists would like to revive the sentiments of extremist nationalism in the FRG and to disseminate them, including among the young generation. The lessons of history recall how dangerous this is for peace in Europe and for the future of the FRG itself.

CSO: 1800

NATIONAL

BODYUL, ZAYCHENKO ADDRESS THIRD MOLDAVIAN KOLKHOZ CONGRESS

Zaychenko Speech

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 23 May 79 pp 1-2

[Text] The kolkhoz peasantry is working selflessly on the implementation of the decisions of the 25th party congress and the CPSU Central Committee July and November (1978) plenums and the instructions and recommendations of Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, expressed in his election speech and during his visit to Moldavia. The kolkhoz members have greeted the Third Moldavian SSR Kolkhoz Members Congress with sound labor deeds: despite the caprices of the weather, spring field work has been completed, as has the repair of harvesting equipment, in the main, and deep-plowed and perennial crops are being tended along a broad front. The rural workers are giving all their efforts, energy and experience to the struggle to fulfill the plans and taut pledges of the fourth year of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

The party's policy of the concentration and specialization of agricultural production by means of interfarm cooperation and agrarian-industrial integration, which is being successfully implemented in the republic, affords inexhaustible opportunities for the development of the kolkhoz system on a qualitatively new basis. These processes have become particularly intensive in the period which has elapsed since the Second Kolkhoz Members Congress, which, abiding by the will of Moldavia's kolkhoz peasantry, entrusted to the Kolkhoz Council which it elected organizing, supply, procurement, financial and planning functions and also the responsibility for the results of economic activity and an increase in production efficiency.

Some 1,500 delegates, elected at rayon kolkhoz member conferences, gathered for their third congress on 22 May. Before the conference began, they laid flowers at the Vladimir Il'ich Lenin memorial.

The congress, which is being held in the "Oktombriye" Palace, was opened by N. M. Zaychenko, chairman of the Moldavian SSR Kolkhoz Council.

A congress presidium was elected. Applause from those present greeted the following: Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau members and candidates I. I. Bodyul, P. V. Voronin, S. K. Grossu, G. I. Yeremey, K. F. Il'yashenko, Ye. P. Kalenik, I. P. Kalin, N. V. Merenishchev, P. P. Petrick, B. N. Savochko and G. G. Dygay, republic Council of Ministers deputy chairmen I. G. Dobynde, G. A. Stepanov and I. G. Ustiyan, A. P. Chubarov, deputy chairman of the union Kolkhoz Council and deputy minister of agriculture of the USSR, S. M. Makarov, deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Agriculture Main Kolkhoz Administration and executive secretary of the union Kolkhoz Council, veterans of the kolkhoz movement and illustrious farmers and stockbreeders of the republic.

With enormous enthusiasm the delegates elected the CPSU Central Committee Politburo headed by Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, honorary presidium.

Following the election of the congress's credentials and drafting commissions and the secretariat, the following agenda was approved:

1. Report of the Moldavian SSR Kolkhoz Council and the tasks of the kolkhozes and interfarm associations and enterprises in the further development of agricultural production and an increase in its efficiency and in an improvement in the forms and methods of work in the light of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee July and November (1978) plenums and the propositions and conclusions contained in the speeches of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
2. Report of the Moldavian SSR Kolkhoz Council Auditing Commission.
3. Ratification of the Moldavian SSR Kolkhoz Council Auditing Commission Regulations.
4. Election of the Moldavian SSR Kolkhoz Council.
5. Election of the Moldavian SSR Kolkhoz Council Auditing Commission.

N. M. Zaychenko, chairman of the Moldavian SSR Kolkhoz Council, delivered the report on the first item on the agenda.

The high evaluation of the kolkhoz peasantry's successes made in the greetings of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers, he said, is evidence that the republic party organization and government are devoting the most unremitting attention to questions of further strengthening the kolkhoz system and improving the organizational forms and management of agricultural production on the basis of interfarm cooperation and agrarian-industrial integration and its transition to an industrial footing.

Three years of persistent, selfless struggle for the fulfillment of the tasks set by the 25th party congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums are behind us, he said. It was a time of major accomplishments in all spheres of Soviet people's constructive activity.

Thanks to the state's enormous assistance in the organizational-economic strengthening of the kolkhozes and their provision with material-technical assets, they have become large-scale farms with a definite level of production specialization and concentration, taken a qualitatively new direction in the development of the production forces and become a decisive element of agricultural production. Occupying 70 percent of the agricultural land, Moldavia's kolkhozes and interfarm associations and enterprises now produce 78 percent of the grain, 100 percent of sugar beet, 87 percent of tobacco, 77 percent of meat and 75 percent of the milk.

The second congress of the republic's kolkhoz members endowed the kolkhoz councils with all rights with respect to production management. This was the logical consequence of the great deal of work performed by the republic party organization, the soviet and economic organs and the kolkhozes themselves on the further intensification of agricultural production on the basis of inter-farm cooperation and agrarian-industrial integration as an important factor in an improvement in the economic relations in the countryside which had evolved as a result of the party's modern agrarian policy.

Interfarm cooperation is a fundamentally new direction in implementation of Lenin's cooperative plan at the current stage. It reveals inexhaustible potential for the development of the kolkhoz system and all agriculture on a qualitatively new organizational and technological basis. The creation of joint integrated production facilities breaks through the confines of the exclusive nature of the economy of individual farms and summons into being major reserves and possibilities of the development of the production forces. The new organizational forms of agricultural production are exerting a beneficial influence on the development of the kolkhozes themselves.

The pooled means of production remain the property of the kolkhozes. They are only handed over to the interfarm associations under flexible management for the organization and implementation of the production process on the basis of industrial techniques. But while retaining their legal and economic independence, the kolkhozes, as the public form of socialist farming, acquire the possibility of engaging in narrowly specialized production in the leading branches, whose size enables us to apply rational production organization with the introduction of industrial techniques, increase their efficiency and also devote more attention to questions of the social-cultural development of the countryside.

The problem of interfarm cooperation have been solved by the kolkhoz councils entirely in accordance with the CPSU Central Committee decree "Further Development of the Specialization and Concentration of Agricultural Production on the Basis of Interfarm Cooperation and Agrarian-Industrial Integration."

The program of the practical implementation of the said processes formulated by the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee 11th Plenum has been implemented in planned fashion. The work performed in the republic was evaluated highly at the 25th CPSU Congress and in other party and government documents.

Currently 310 interfarm formations of the agrarian and industrial type are functioning successfully in the republic's kolkhoz-cooperative sector together with 422 kolkhozes. Implementing the party's agrarian policy, the kolkhoz councils see it as their primary duty to considerably strengthen agriculture's material-technical base and achieve on this basis a growth in production and its increased efficiency. In the period 1973-1978 some R2.2 billion of state and kolkhoz capital or 1.4 times more than in the previous 6 years were spent on the development of agriculture.

The machinery and tractor pool was almost completely replaced in this period. Power capacities increased by a factor of 1.7, supplies of mineral fertilizer by a factor of 1.6 and the area of irrigable land by a factor of 1.5. The gross agricultural product increased by a factor of 1.3 and the gross revenue of the kolkhozes increased 25 percent on average in the period under review compared with the previous 6-year period.

The material-technical base of the interfarm formations developed rapidly. The proportion of their fixed capital of the total value for the sector rose from 5.3 percent in the previous 6-year period to 29.5 percent in the period under review. The interfarm stockbreeding enterprises currently account for 66 percent of the beef, 78 percent of the pork and 79 percent of the eggs produced in the kolkhoz-cooperative sector.

In conjunction with the trade union organizations the kolkhoz councils paid great attention to the growth of the well-being and culture and an improvement in the everyday life of the republic's rural population. The capital investments of the kolkhozes and interfarm associations and enterprises of the republic in everyday and social-cultural facilities, chiefly in the social sphere, in these years amounted to R214.3, which was 16 percent more than this indicator for the previous 6-year period.

The rapid development of interfarm cooperation has contributed to the fact that a new category of workers has emerged and evolved from the kolkhoz member milieu who in the nature of their work, which is distinguished by a high degree of provision with equipment, and also in their awareness, skills and culture are on a par with the working class. These workers constitute more than 40 percent of the skilled workers of the mass trades. New trades corresponding to the modern level of large-scale socialist agricultural production have appeared--tractor driver-machine operator with broad qualifications, operator in raising and fattening cattle, pigs and poultry, operator in preparing and applying fodder and others. The proportion of machine operators in the total number of workers has doubled compared with 1965. Over 30,000 specialists with diplomas are working in agriculture--two-three times more than in 1972.

The concentration of engineering facilities--the creation of interfarm associations for the mechanization and electrification of agricultural production--has become a central element of interfarm cooperation, Comrade Zaychenko continued. The results of the associations' activity in 31 rayons convincingly confirm that precisely this organization of the use of machinery and the corresponding methods of managing the equipment are the sole correct ones. The associations have been entrusted with the basic responsibility for insuring the comprehensive mechanization of production processes, the development and assimilation of industrial techniques of agricultural crop cultivation and progressive methods of the organization of labor in farming, the training and an increase in the qualifications of machine operators and, ultimately, for an increase in production and the strengthening of the economy of the kolkhozes. They perform 93 percent of mechanized operations.

Concentration of the machinery pool in the associations and the centralization of management, engineering maintenance and material-technical supply have made it possible to reduce the time spent on field operations thanks to the extensive maneuvering of agricultural equipment within a rayon. With the increased level of mechanization of operations labor productivity in the cultivation of grain and leguminous crops increased 37 percent, sugar beet 16 percent, tobacco 27 percent, vegetables 29 percent and grapes 28 percent. The work of the comprehensive mechanized detachments, which are supplied with uniform equipment and which are specialized for different branches of production, are promoting the introduction in agricultural production of industrial techniques combining continuity, contiguity, efficiency and the comprehensive mechanization of all processes.

However, together with the indisputable advantage of the new organizational forms of equipment use we have to mention unsolved questions connected with the development and organizational-economic strengthening of the mechanization associations. As practice shows, it is essential for their more efficient operation to organize mutual relations with the farms which would make the machine operators' financial concern fully dependent on the final results of production. Questions of optimization of the size of the associations and their structural subdivisions and management also require further elaboration.

The material-technical base for the repair, servicing and storage of the equipment is being created extremely slowly, and this is exerting a negative influence on the efficiency of its use and the retention of machine-operator personnel. The centralized supply of spares and repair materials and the servicing of the machinery by centralized industrial transportation have not been organized.

Land improvement is a principal factor of an intensification of agricultural production. At a time when agriculture is being switched to an industrial footing, it is becoming a key element in a further increase in the yield of agricultural crops. The irrigable area in the kolkhoz-cooperative sector has grown to 134,000 hectares or 8 percent of agricultural land, but it

annually provides 20 percent of the gross plant-growing product. Some 46.8 quintals of winter wheat, 277 quintals of tomatoes and 378 quintals of perennial grasses for soiling food were obtained per hectare on irrigated land in 1978.

The kolkhozes are also performing a great deal of work on the small-scale irrigation of the land, the draining of overmoist soils and the construction of ponds, water-storage basins and anti-erosion hydraulic structures. In 4 years they made 7,300 hectares of overmoist land part of the agricultural turnover and constructed 185 ponds. The area of small-scale irrigation had increased by a factor of 4.5 and constituted 70,000 hectares on average in 1977-1978 compared with 1972.

The interfarm agrochemical centers are a most important element of the associations for the mechanization and electrification of agricultural production. Consisting of the essential material-technical base, agrochemical personnel and machine operators, they have enabled the kolkhozes to more effectively introduce in production and carry out a complex of measures to obtain harvests in accordance with a program drawn up in advance which takes into consideration soil and climatic conditions and crop biology. The introduction in the agrochemical centers' practice of progressive techniques of the application of mineral and organic fertilizers has made it possible for the farms to halve expenditure per ton of their application compared with the decentralized system of agrochemical servicing.

However, in certain rayons the agrochemical centers have not yet become a mobilizing source in the organization of the use of local fertilizer. Its provision per hectare of plowland in Kagul'skiy, Suvorovskiy and Kantemirskiy rayons continues to remain extremely low from year to year and amounts to only 2-3 tons. This is having a negative effect on the degree of cultivation of the soils and their physical and biological characteristics.

The production and economic-financial activity of the agrochemical centers should be made dependent on the results of production on the kolkhozes which they service. It is necessary to develop a system of stimulating the efficiency of agrochemical servicing and introduce in practice modern production charts of the preparation, transportation and application of chemicalization agents and on this basis strive for their maximum rate of return with minimum expenditure.

The speaker then dwelt on the problem of cultivating grain crops. He observed, in particular, that as a result of purposeful work to enhance the standard of farming and introduce the achievements of science and progressive practice without additional extension of the grain area grain production in 1978 had increased 34 percent compared with 1972, while its gross harvest in the last 6 years was 2 million tons more than in the previous 6-year period. For the kolkhoz sector as a whole the yield of cereals increased from 34.6 quintals per hectare in 1972 to 38.7 quintals in 1978.

The introduction of new strains, improvement of the system of soil preparation, the application of higher doses of fertilizer and proper care of the sown areas have enabled the republic's farmers to achieve a steady growth in the wheat yield. In the Eighth Five-Year Plan it constituted 20.1 quintals, in the Ninth 33.5 quintals, in 3 years of the 10th 37.3 quintals and in 1978 40.6 quintals.

Agriculture's increased provision with equipment and new organizational forms of the operation of the machinery and tractor pool have considerably changed the production techniques of the principal grain fodder crop--corn. Its yield increased by a factor of 1.5 in the 3 years and amounted to 42.1 quintals per hectare in 1978.

For the purpose of a further increase in the yield and gross harvests of corn grain it is essential to introduce more extensively a unified industrial technique of its cultivation with precisely developed fertilizer, herbicide, toxic chemical and machinery systems. Under the conditions of the large-scale specialization and concentration of agricultural production it has taken only 2 years for this technique to have become prevalent over considerable areas from its trial on 800 hectares in the mechanized detachment led by S. M. Parmakli.

Last year the kolkhozes of Chadyr-Langskiy Rayon gathered 61.8 quintals of grain from each hectare cultivated in accordance with the new technique. In just 1 year here its production amounted to 88,600 tons, that is, as much as was obtained in the 2 previous years. Labor input per quintal of product was almost halved compared with the previous year, while production costs fell 37 percent. This year the farms of the Kolkhoz Council system are cultivating corn in accordance with the new technique on 95,000 hectares. This is a big test of the republic grain growers' maturity and expertise.

Despite certain achievements in the development of grain farming, the rate of growth of cereals production still does not insure fulfillment of the gross harvest plans and also the fodder requirements of public livestock raising and the kolkhoz members' subsidiary farms. In 3 years of the current five-year plan almost one-third of the farms gathered a harvest of less than 30 quintals of grain per hectare. At the same time 44 percent of the kolkhozes and interkolkhoz associations obtained 35-40 and more quintals. Particularly big fluctuations in the yield of cereals can be observed on the farms of the Dondyushanskiy and Vulkanesht'-kiv rayon kolkhoz councils.

Losses of the cultivated land grain crops are great. Despite a cereals yield of 40 and more quintals, productivity of the "Kolos," "Niva" and other combines is falling sharply, the quality of the threshing and separation of the grain is deteriorating, and the losses are amounting to 5-6 quintals per hectare. The rural machine operators have particularly big complaints about the grain-harvesting combines, which, with a yield of over 50 quintals, are permitting grain losses of up to 7-10 quintals per hectare.

It is also necessary to solve the questions of the manufacture and provision of agriculture with specialized above-norm means of transport, the expansion of grain drying and the manufacture of lightweight rapidly assembled covered threshing floors from modern materials. An important reserve of an increase in grain production is the cultivation of new high-yield strains and hybrids.

Then Comrade Zaychenko described in detail the state of affairs in the sphere of the production of industrial crops. He observed, in particular, that the republic has many farms which are obtaining big harvests of sugar beet, but last year 14 percent of them gathered less than 200 quintals thereof per hectare. As a result the plans for the production and purchase of the roots were not fulfilled.

Serious shortcomings in sunflower production are giving rise to concern. Because of a lack of strains and hybrids resistant to disease and broomrape and violation of cultivation techniques there was a drop in the production and purchases of oil seeds in the periods under review, and the efficiency of the cultivation of this crop fell. It is the task of agricultural science to replace the zoned strains in the next 2 years, and of the producers to introduce industrial techniques of sunflower cultivation.

Much has also still to be done in the republic to raise the efficiency of tobacco growing. A further growth in leaf production should be secured mainly through an increase in the yield of this crop on the basis of comprehensive mechanization in combination with other achievements of scientific-technical progress and also the further specialization of the farms in tobacco production.

Horticulture and viticulture are the pride of the Moldavian people. There have been enormous transformations in these leading branches in recent years. The large industrial plantations on the kolkhozes of Slobodzeyskiy, Vulkaneshtskiy, Dubossarskiy, Brichanskiy, Ryshkanskiy, Rybnitskiy, Suvorovskiy and other rayons have been created anew.

The intensive-type orchards are of high potential. Thus in the last 3 years the yield on the interkolkhoz "Pamyat' Il'ichu" Orchard, which had only just begun to bear fruit, amounted to 130 quintals per hectare or was double the sector's average. Profit per hectare amounted to R3,600, which is four times higher than the kolkhoz indicators. Occupying 2.7 percent of the republic's fruit-bearing plantations, in 1978, which was unfavorable for horticulture, this orchard provided almost 9 percent of the gross product and 22 percent of the net profit of the horticulture of the kolkhoz-cooperative sector. Intensive plantations have now been laid down on 24,000 hectares in the interkolkhoz associations. However, the target for the development of industrial horticulture is not being met.

The republic's viticulture is also being recreated on a new organizational-technical basis. In the period under review the green vine was planted on

55,000 hectares on the kolkhozes. This made it possible to rejuvenate more than one-half of kolkhoz vineyards and improve their qualitative composition. More than 90 percent of the plantations are trained on espaliers, and 65,000 hectares are being cultivated in accordance with modern stem techniques.

A considerable lagging behind the rate outlined for the five-year plan has been allowed to occur in the development of the branch together with certain positive results. Work on liquidating plantation sparseness, installing espaliers and the timely training of the shrubs and on the application of herbicides and fertilizer in the vineyards has been poorly organized on a number of farms. New machinery and "small-scale" means of mechanization, particularly in the harvesting, which accounts for up to 40 percent of total expenditure in production of the product, are being introduced inadequately. All this is having a negative effect on the efficiency of viticulture and is leading to annual shortfalls of a considerable quantity of the gross product and net revenue.

The "Kolkhozvinsadproyekt" Planning and Technological Institute has an important place in deciding questions of the correct choice of the best zones and microregions of the republic and the location of new orchards and vineyards of the appropriate species-strain composition. However, mistakes are being permitted in its work in locating vineyards and orchards, and insufficient account is being taken of the ecological conditions of the land tracts and the biological peculiarities of the grape varieties located in low-lying areas.

The kolkhoz councils have paid great attention to the development of vegetable growing. Thanks to intensification, gross production and state purchases of truck-garden products increased by a factor of 1.8 on the kolkhozes in the period under review compared with the previous 6-year period. The interkolkhoz specialized vegetable crop rotations created in Grigoriopol'skiy, Slobodzeyskiy and Kaushanskiy rayons are providing big harvests with low monetary-material and labor input. At the same time there are shortcomings in the republic holding back the development of the branch. The growth of vegetable production must be secured through an intensification of the concentration processes on the kolkhozes and an increase in the pace of introduction of new industrial techniques and highly productive strains.

The processes of specialization and concentration on the basis of interfarm cooperation have become most prevalent in animal husbandry, the speaker said. Interfarm cooperation has traversed a path from individual small-scale centers and grounds for fattening cattle and hogs to industrial-type enterprises specialized in the production of the main types of livestock-raising product. A strong industrial base for the production of pork, beef, eggs and poultry meat and the rearing of heifers has been created by the kolkhozes' joint efforts. With a 9-percent average annual reduction in the number of workers the production of livestock-raising products increased 44 percent in the period under review. Labor productivity at the interfarm enterprises is more than double that of the sector average, production costs are 46 percent lower, and fodder expenditure is almost 40 percent less.

Having dwelt on certain other of the branch's achievements, the speaker devoted much attention to the shortcomings and the paths of overcoming them. In certain "Kolkhozzhivprom" rayon associations hog-raising complexes are being assimilated very slowly. Inadequate provision with fodder and violations of technique led to the point where in 3 years of the current five-year plan the plan for gross pork weight gain for the kolkhozes as a whole was not fulfilled. The hog-raising workers are confronted with a crucial task this year--insuring the production and sale to the state of no less than 120,000 tons of meat and considerably increasing the branch's economic efficiency. This can be achieved given the maximum head of livestock in the industrial complexes, a fundamental improvement in selection-breeding work in hog raising, the application everywhere of the achievements of science and advanced practice in the system of reproduction, the rearing and fattening of the young pigs, their maximum preservation and an increase in issue per average annual sow of up to 16-18 head and the precise and strictest observance of the established norms of the feeding and care of all industrial groups of animals.

A number of rayons, primarily Vulkaneshtskiy, Teleneshtskiy, Chimishliyskiy and Floreshtskiy, are failing to pay due attention to the highly efficient use of the possibilities of the industrial production of beef. The principal path of an increase in the yield of this valuable product is the full assimilation of the capacities of the industrial complexes, the introduction of intensive methods of the buildup and fattening of cattle, preservation of the herd and rational labor organization.

With the concentration of the production of pork, beef and poultry-breeding products on an interfarm basis extensive opportunities are revealed for the development of dairy livestock raising directly on the kolkhozes. Large-scale mechanized livestock sections and complexes have come to replace the small-scale, scattered farmsteads, where manual labor prevailed. More than 200 livestock sections were modernized and put in good order and approximately 40 dairy complexes were built on the kolkhozes in the last 6 years alone.

A principal factor insuring an improvement in the sector's indicators was the construction in each rayon of interfarm enterprises for rearing replacement calves. Their capacities make it possible to annually hand over to the farms up to 70,000 highly productive heifers. The successes of Brichanskiy, Slobodzeyskiy, Lazovskiy and Drokiyevskiy rayons in increasing milk production and raising the cows' productiveness are directly connected with the creation of these complexes.

However, in a number of rayons the main reason holding back the sector's development remains, as before, the slow growth of the number of cows and their low density per 100 hectares of agricultural land. Thus every year the kolkhozes of Floreshtskiy Rayon, where cow density and productiveness have remained at the 1973 level, fail to fulfill the plans for the production and sale to the state of milk. Matters are also in poor shape in Rezinskiy, Kamenskiy, Nisporenskiy, Ungenskiy, Komratskiy and Kagul'skiy

rayons, where for 1978 the indicators of the number of cows and milk production per 100 hectares of agricultural land were 20-40 percent lower than in the advanced rayons of the corresponding zones of Moldavia. On almost 40 percent of the republic's kolkhozes cow productiveness is lower than the republic average.

In the coming years the Moldavian stockbreeders will have to accomplish the task determined for the 11th Five-Year Plan by the CPSU Central Committee July (1978) Plenum and the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum held this April--raising the annual per cow milk yield to 4,000 kilos. For this it is essential to fundamentally improve the reproduction of the herd and implement a complex of measures to improve the feeding and fodder-production systems. Dairy livestock raising must become an object of constant attention in the farm managers' daily affairs and concerns.

Measures for the intensification of poultry breeding were implemented in the period under review. Seventeen interkolkhoz poultry factories are currently operating in the republic. Last year they produced 77 percent of the eggs and 51 percent of poultry meat in the total production volume. The Suvorovskaya and Vulkaneshtskaya and the first stage of the Rybnitskaya interfarm broiler poultry factories for 1.7 million head per year each were built and commissioned, the premises released on the kolkhozes were modernized for raising young poultry for meat, the number of meat-variety hens and ducks was increased, and shops for egg incubation and raising chickens were created. All this considerably influenced the growth of poultry meat production: 3.5 times more of it was sold in 1978 than in 1972.

The conditions exist for the development of poultry breeding in all rayons, but fuller use must be made of them. It is necessary to considerably improve the use of the production capacities of the interfarm poultry factories and specialized sections, increase the economic efficiency of production and raise the parental numbers of meat-variety hens and ducks.

The speaker illustrated in detail the problem of protecting the livestock herd and poultry against murrain and forced slaughter. A great deal has still to be done in this plane in the republic. The state veterinary service is still not serving livestock raising and, primarily, the complexes with industrial technology at the proper level and is failing to take advantage of the rights accorded it by the USSR Veterinary Statute. Raising the level of the veterinary service of the sector and insuring the high preservation of the herd is the urgent task of the day.

As is known, fodder is a decisive factor in an increase in the production of livestock-raising products, the speaker continued. The CPSU Central Committee July (1978) Plenum set the task of a fundamental improvement in fodder production. It is a question of imparting to it a specialized sectorial character both on the kolkhozes and by means of the creation of interfarm associations.

Fulfilling the party and government decisions on strengthening the fodder base, the kolkhozes and interfarm associations have markedly increased the production of fodder, improved its structure and enhanced its quality. Despite a 17-percent reduction in the areas under fodder crops, gross fodder production has increased 10 percent with a growth in its protein content of 25 percent. New techniques have become widespread in fodder procurement: the production of vitamin grass meal and grass pellets, the procurement of haylage and hay by the forced-ventilation method, the application of chemical preservatives in the storage of highly moist grain and others. The interfarm associations for the production and processing of fodder, which function in 37 rayons, have played a role of considerable importance in all this. Over 175,000 hectares of plowland are reserved for them. A major industrial base has been created which is making it possible to produce on an interfarm basis 800,000 tons of mixed feed, 500,000 tons of granules and pellets and 30,000 tons of carbamide concentrate a year.

However, questions of the creation of a guaranteed fodder base in the kolkhoz sector are being solved slowly, which has been a principal reason for the nonfulfillment of the plan indicators in livestock raising. In this connection it is essential to fundamentally review the organization of all work in fodder production and processing. It is primarily necessary to adopt measures for an intensification of fodder production, the strengthening of the material-technical base of the interfarm associations, an improvement of the structure of the sown areas and the introduction of promising high-yield strains of fodder crops and progressive techniques of their cultivation and to impart a specialized character to fodder production on each kolkhoz. Particular attention should be paid to a solution of the problem of fodder protein, primarily thanks to an increase in the production of alfalfa, soybean and other high-protein crops and to expanding the area of irrigable fodder land.

The construction workers, Comrade Zaychenko observed, are making a big contribution to increasing the economic potential of kolkhoz production.

The creation of a single specialized interkolkhoz construction organization contributed to the transition from the construction of individual buildings to the installation of modern mechanized production complexes and cultural-social centers. In the last 6 years the "Kolkhozstroy" collectives commissioned R2.1 billion of fixed capital or 1.6 times more than in the previous 6-year period. The amount of construction and installation and contract work increased by a factor of 1.7. Performing the functions of client and contractor enabled the kolkhoz councils in the comparable period to reduce the average annual number of projects under construction by a factor of 2.6 and to increase the volume of work on a single project fourfold.

However, the activity of the interkolkhoz construction organizations still does not yet fully correspond to current requirements. It is essential to take all steps to strengthen plan discipline in capital construction, insure

the more rational use of capital investments and their concentration at the projects nearing completion and effect a decisive turnaround in the direction of a sharp increase in the proportion of funds spent on the expansion, modernization and retooling of operating enterprises. The "Kolkhozstroyproyekt" Institute must pay serious attention to an improvement in the quality of the plans being drawn up and the technical-economic substantiations and to the introduction of rational, constructive and progressive engineering decisions and highly efficient inexpensive materials.

It is also necessary to improve work on the selection, placement and retention of personnel, increasing their work skills and professional expertise and increasing exactingness toward the construction organizations for the observance of production and engineering discipline, an improvement in production organization, the introduction of the recommendations of the scientists and of progressive experience and a reduction in the time taken for construction.

Then the speaker illustrated in detail the activity of the kolkhoz councils in managing the kolkhoz-cooperative sector. The broadening of the kolkhoz council's rights is a consequence of the processes occurring in the republic and a logical result of the development of the democratic principles of socialist economic planning, he said. In conjunction with the kolkhoz and interfarm formation boards they are deciding questions of production planning and organization, the most rational use of land, equipment, capital investments and labor resources, the introduction of the achievements of scientific-technical progress, an improvement in labor organization, norm-setting and remuneration, the rational distribution of income and the strengthening of the economy of the farms and bear responsibility for the final results of production and the solution of social problems.

In the Kolkhoz Council system the management structure is organized in accordance with the sectorial principle through the production and science-production associations. The creation of the new management organs has made it possible to bring the managerial apparatus as close to production as possible and afforded opportunities for the broad masses of kolkhoz members and interfarm association and enterprise workers to participate in the solution of the tasks of increased production. Effecting centralized management of the economy under the leadership of the party organizations, the kolkhoz councils are implementing measures for specialization both on the basis of interfarm cooperation and by means of an improvement in the organizational structure of production on the kolkhozes themselves in accordance with a unified plan of the coordination of these processes.

Relying on such economic levers as planning, profit, financial autonomy and the creation and use of interfarm centralized capital, they are exerting a concrete influence on the course of production. Being holders of capital, the kolkhoz councils use the fixed and working capital in the most efficient areas corresponding to the requirements of the development of social production and the creation of large-scale specialized enterprises on an interfarm basis.

The kolkhoz councils have paid much attention in their activity to improving the organization of financial autonomy as a principle method of socialist economic planning.

Progressive forms of labor organization and remuneration are prevalent, and scientifically substantiated output norms are being extensively introduced.

In the period that the republic's kolkhoz councils have been operation inter-farm centralized funds amounting to R17.9 million have been formed. The kolkhozes and interfarm organizations which found themselves in a difficult financial situation in connection with unfavorable weather conditions were assisted to the tune of R10.4 million from these funds.

The principles of mutual relations between the shareholder-farms and the associations formulated by the Kolkhoz Council are organized on a contractual basis and are regulated by current legislation and the regulation on the inter-farm enterprise and production association. The contract reflects the most important questions of the activity of the parties and of the regularization of their rights and duties with respect to the material-technical provision of production, the sale of output and the distribution of profit.

At the same time the practice of the conclusion of contracts which has evolved in certain rayons is failing to secure normal production-economic relations, reducing the responsibility of the personnel, engendering depersonalization and mutual forgiveness for the nonfulfillment of obligations and, ultimately, undermining the basic principles of economic planning. Nonobservance of the established procedure for the distribution of profit is a flagrant violation of the regulation on the mutual relations of the associations and shareholder-farms. Many "Kolkhozzhivprom" associations, particularly the Vulkaneshtskoye, Grigoriopol'skoye, Kantemirskoye and Sorokskoye, failed to transfer profit to the participating farms, directing almost all of it into capital investments and listing it as several participation. Such practice causes serious moral harm to the entire cause of interfarm cooperation.

The kolkhoz councils have engaged in their activity in accordance with the regulations approved by the republic government. Some 155 sessions of the republic Kolkhoz Council Presidium held during the period under review examined and solved urgent problems of kolkhoz life--the introduction in production of the achievements of science and technology and progressive experience, an increase in the standard of farming and livestock raising, performance of the most important agricultural work for each period, an improvement in social-cultural and consumer services and labor safety and observance of the Kolkhoz Charter and the regulations on the interfarm formations and the democratic principles of the management of kolkhoz production.

Recent years have been fruitful, but not easy for the development of agriculture. The creation of the new organizational forms, the development of the kolkhoz councils and the transition of branches to an industrial footing have required a fundamental reorganization in the work of the management personnel and production organizers and changes in the system of views on

the development of kolkhoz production which had evolved over decades. It was necessary to overcome a psychological barrier, inertia and conservatism and boldly proceed to the performance of complex and large-scale tasks along an entirely new path.

Much has been done, but far from everything. The interfarm associations and enterprises have not understood their role entirely correctly in a number of cases. They were created by the kolkhozes and for the kolkhozes, and not above them. Their entire activity should be geared to the further development of kolkhoz-cooperative production and its increased economic efficiency.

Difficult questions and problems have arisen in the course of the development and improvement of interfarm cooperation and the creation of new forms of the organization and management of kolkhoz-cooperative production. And in all instances the republic party organization has rendered inestimable assistance. Constant direction of these processes on the part of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and the rayon party organizations has made it possible to advance confidently and find the correct solutions.

During his visit to Moldavia Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, drew the exceptionally important conclusion that the work of the integrated production facilities must be organized such that it positively influence the development of all branches of agriculture, that the plans be fulfilled as a whole and that an unwavering production growth be secured in all branches. It is essential that the leaders of the kolkhozes, kolkhoz councils and interfarm associations and enterprises draw practical conclusions from this instruction and secure a further growth of production and agriculture's economic efficiency.

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A good foundation has been laid this year for obtaining big harvests of agricultural crops. The spring field work was performed in an organized fashion and to the proper agrotechnical standard. The condition of the winter and spring crops and the state of affairs in livestock raising instill confidence in the fact that the fourth year of the 10th Five-Year Plan will be completed successfully. Our entire work should be geared to the fulfillment of the 10th Five-Year Plan targets as a whole and the creation of a reliable foundation for the solution of the bigger tasks of the 11th Five-Year Plan by means of the further development of specialization and concentration on the basis of interfarm and agrarian-industrial cooperation and the transition of branches of agriculture to an industrial footing.

On behalf of the congress delegates and the hundreds of thousands of kolkhoz members and interfarm association and enterprise workers in conclusion Comrade Zaychenko thanked the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic government for the great attention, concern and assistance which they are daily giving the development of agricultural production. He gave the assurance that the workers of the kolkhozes and interfarm associations and enterprises would exert all their efforts for the further development of agriculture and its increased economic efficiency and would make a worthy contribution to the accomplishment of the tasks set by the 25th CPSU Congress and to the common cause of building communism in our country.

#### Bodyul Speech

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 26 May 79 p 2

[Text] Dear Comrades Delegates!

The Third Moldavian Kolkhoz Members Congress is a major political event in the life of the republic. Its job is to evaluate the activity of the kolkhoz councils over the 6 years that they have been functioning as the new organs of management of the kolkhozes and interfarm organizations and the level of their accomplishment of the production, economic and social tasks of the further development of the kolkhoz system in Moldavia.

The kolkhoz councils became all-embracing management organs on the initiative of the republic's kolkhoz members, which was supported by the CPSU Central Committee. Expressing the opinion of all the republic's kolkhoz members, the rapporteur--chairman of the Moldavian SSR Kolkhoz Council--and the congress delegates correctly observed that this sociopolitical experiment had proven positive and necessary. The broadening of the functions of the kolkhoz councils and their growth into plenipotentiary organs of the management of all subdivisions and elements of the kolkhoz-cooperative sector endowed with high responsibility were dictated primarily by the need for the kolkhozes' transition from multibranch to specialized production, the appreciable consolidation of the branches and their transition to machine techniques with the extensive application of the achievements of scientific-technical progress.

A direct reason for the organization of the new management organs was inter-kolkhoz cooperation, which began from below, at the initiative of the kolkhozes, and became a powerful, highly efficient means of the modern large-scale concentration of production, the industrialization of techniques, the specialization of the farms, the acceleration of their economic growth and the more complete solution of social problems.

In the unanimous opinion of all the delegates who spoke here, the kolkhoz councils are coping successfully with the duties with which they have been entrusted and corroborating through their activity the correctness and timeliness of the transition to fundamentally new organs of management and economic regulation in the kolkhoz sector. The principal significance of the Third Moldavian Kolkhoz Members Congress, which is being held in the decisive period of the realization in practice of the socioeconomic program drawn up by the 25th CPSU Congress and under the conditions of important changes underway in the countryside in the direction of an increase in the level of socialization of kolkhoz production, the industrialization of agricultural labor, the growth of its productivity and an improvement in all qualitative indicators of work, consists in this positive evaluation of this big and important experiment. Here lies the guarantee of the further development of agriculture and the successful accomplishment of the tasks ensuing from the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee July and November (1978) plenums and the theoretical propositions and practical instructions of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev on agrarian questions.

A distinguishing feature of the congress has been the profound and, I would say, scientific substantiation of the questions raised here, the political and economic erudition of the comrades who spoke, the businesslike, innovative approach to the problems of production intensification and concentration and specialization and high exactingness toward managerial matters. There is particular importance in the fact that the delegates' speeches were devoted not only to a summary of the work that has been done but were also geared to the future and imbued with the general concern of how best to use the possibilities created by the new organizational structures and economic relations for an increase in the efficiency of agriculture and of what needs to be done further to insure the more complete implementation of the party's policy aimed at satisfaction of the people's ever increasing need for food products and industry's need for raw materials.

This approach testifies to the increased maturity and breadth and depth of the erudition of the agricultural workers and their comprehensive comprehension of the tasks set the country's agrarian sector by the party. This inspires confidence that the Moldavian peasantry, actively supporting the CPSU's agrarian policy and displaying high labor and political enthusiasm, will cope successfully with the tasks confronting agriculture.

It is very significant that the Third Moldavian Kolkhoz Members Congress has assembled at a time when the entire Soviet people are commemorating the 50th anniversary of the first five-year plan of the development of the USSR

national economy. It was precisely in the 1930's that the most populous class at that time--the peasantry--switched to the path of socialist cooperation. For the Moldavian people the present year is also noteworthy in that collectivization in the republic's right-bank regions was basically completed three decades ago.

Kolkhoz building in our country has passed through a number of stages in accordance with the development of the production forces of the Soviet socialist society. I recall this today to note the mighty strength and vitality of the kolkhoz system, which was created and is developing according to Lenin's cooperative plan, and its capacity for constantly developing its organizational forms and democratic methods of management and to draw your attention to the logical nature of the processes currently underway of the large-scale concentration and the extended specialization and functioning of the kolkhoz councils. In other words, I would like to emphasize that the continuous nature of the process of the self-development of the kolkhozes and their ascent to higher levels of production organization and economic and social progress is manifested in the dialectical improvement of socialist production cooperation.

The modern, most significant stage of the development of the kolkhoz system and the large-scale concentration of its production and extended specialization, which continues with increasing success, began in agriculture under the impact of the scientific-technical revolution and the CPSU's socioeconomic policy formulated at the CPSU Central Committee October (1964) Plenum. The organizational-technical and economic foundations of this stage were laid by the CPSU Central Committee's historic March (1965) Plenum.

The main essence of the kolkhozes' self-development at this stage is their transition from multibranch to specialized production effected on the basis of the farms' extensive cooperation and agrarian-industrial integration and the direct synthesis in agriculture of science and production.

The conversion of the kolkhoz councils into organs of the centralized management of the kolkhoz-cooperative sector as a whole was a logical consequence of these processes and transformations occurring in Moldavia and an important socioeconomic and political phenomenon of this stage. Prior to their appearance, management functions via elective organs had been combined within the kolkhoz framework, where general meetings of kolkhoz members were the highest tiers of management, while the boards exercised the executive and administrative functions. The democratic principles of leadership now go beyond individual farms and embrace this entire sector as a unified whole in production, economic and social development.

Endowed by the kolkhoz members with the rights and duties of productive management, distribution of income and material resources and the performance of social tasks, the kolkhoz councils are worthily representing Moldavia's kolkhoz system. They are an effective mechanism of comprehensive progress

in the Moldavian countryside and an important instrument of the accomplishment of the party's program task--the transition to communist forms of production and distribution.

Heading the cooperative sector, the kolkhoz councils have imparted a scientifically substantiated character to the movement for the further division of labor and the concentration of production on the basis of industrial techniques which has become prevalent on the kolkhozes, are insuring the necessary optimum nature of the concentration of production and the expediency of the farms' specialization, have introduced a planned character in these continuous processes and have rendered them manageable.

In line with the changes and improvement in the means of production and the growth of the workers' skills and experience, the kolkhoz councils, relying on the assistance of science, have correctly determined the most rational organizational forms of integration, formulated their corresponding production-economic relations within the farms and between them and also with the state organizations, enterprises and services and begun to coordinate and direct their interaction. Together with 422 kolkhozes at the present time some 310 interfarm enterprises, complexes and associations are functioning in Moldavia's cooperative sector which produce 38 percent of the products obtained in this sector.

The kolkhoz councils have raised the level of leadership of the new formations and also the kolkhozes, a consequence of which has been the successful activity of the overwhelming majority of the farms, the unswerving growth of production efficiency on them, fulfillment of the plans and pledges, the strengthening of the economy and plan-based accomplishment of social tasks.

The kolkhoz councils adopt an attitude of great responsibility toward leadership of the interfarm enterprises, complexes and associations and, primarily, toward the leadership of interfarm cooperation in the central link--use of the engineering means of production--are reinforcing the production capital of the mechanization and electrification associations and training personnel for them and improving production-economic relations between these associations and the kolkhozes. I would like to emphasize once again, comrades, that of all the forms of integration, concentration of the engineering means of production is the most significant, the most fundamental, the most important and the leading factor of interfarm cooperation and the core of the process of the improvement of production relations in the countryside.

More than 92 percent of the tractors, combines and other agricultural machinery of the kolkhoz-cooperative sector is already concentrated in the technical associations at the present time, and they perform approximately 93 percent of mechanized operations on the kolkhozes, cater for the irrigation of 70 percent of the irrigable land areas and apply 80 percent of the organic and 70 percent of the mineral fertilizers of their total volume. The principal engineering and agronomic personnel, economists and production organizers are concentrated in these associations.

Implementing the agrotechnical measures in accordance with the production charts of programmed yield and being entirely responsible for the final results of production and its economic efficiency, the associations' managers and specialists provide for production planning and organization, the introduction of new production methods and the comprehensive mechanization of crop cultivation, an increase in labor productivity, savings everywhere and increased production profitability. They decide social questions connected with the workers' remuneration, instruction and education.

The concentration of equipment has afforded an opportunity for its improved operation thanks to fuller loads, current-basis maneuvering and a reduction in idling. The average annual output per standard tractor in 1978 increased 11 percent compared with 1972 and the daily and shift output increased 36 percent, while production costs per standard hectare fell 7.2 percent. In the 6 years the associations economized on 195,000 tons of fuel, and there was a 22-percent drop in the spares requirement.

The associations' successful activity has introduced a great deal of balance in the orders for equipment, spares and fuel. The machinery and tractor pool replacement requirement has been almost halved, and there has been a reduction in the annual writing off of machinery. New techniques in the production of sugar beet, corn, vegetables and fodder and other crops have been introduced which not only completely exclude manual labor but also reduce mechanized preparation. As a result there is an increase in the efficient use of land, mechanisms, chemical agents and labor.

The standard of farming has risen considerably. Whereas in 1970, which had favorable climatic conditions, the cereals yield in the kolkhoz sector amounted to 29.4 quintals per hectare, including 22.4 quintals of wheat, in 1978 it rose to 38.7 and 40.6 quintals respectively.

The transfer of the state irrigation systems to the kolkhozes created difficulties in their operation. The kolkhoz councils eliminated them. They organized specialized land-improvement associations on an interfarm basis, transferred the irrigation installations, watering machinery and irrigator personnel to them and set up an engineering service and are catering for the centralized operation of the irrigation systems. Since they have been operational these associations have improved the use of water and equipment, increased the frequency of the watering, cut the costs of the irrigation work and considerably raised the intensiveness of production on the irrigable land.

The kolkhoz councils have introduced definite order in the chemicalization of farming and set up agrochemical centers, which are performing large-scale and complex work. They are studying the soils, compiling charts of the application of organic and mineral fertilizer, performing work on the chemicalization of production from their own funds, monitoring the appearance of plant diseases and pests and fighting them. As a result there has been an increase in the efficiency of the use of fertilizers and toxic chemicals, an improvement in their accounting and storage and increased responsibility

for their application, and a real opportunity has been created for preventing pollution of water and the environment by chemical products.

Cooperation in livestock raising is revealing its economic advantages increasingly fully with every passing year. Whereas previously it operated at a loss, in the Eighth Five-Year Plan its profitability in the kolkhoz-cooperative sector amounted to 8.7 percent and to 14 percent in the Ninth Five-Year Plan. The profitability of livestock-raising products produced on an inter-farm basis is particularly high: it constituted 22 percent in 1977 and 1978.

Some 200 specialized enterprises, complexes and associations whose fixed production capital has risen to R672 million are currently functioning in the republic "Kolkhozzhivprom" Association. Last year they accounted for the production of over 70 percent of the meat and 78 percent of the eggs and the rearing of 80 percent of the heifers of the total quantity in the kolkhoz-cooperative sector.

A constant growth in the production of livestock-raising products is being secured in the republic thanks to concentration on an industrial basis. The assimilation and use of new industrial capacities created by the farms on the basis of cooperation made it possible to increase meat production in the kolkhoz sector from 136,200 tons in 1970 to 228,700 tons in 1978 or by 67.9 percent, including beef by 96.9 percent, poultry meat by a factor of 3.2 and pork by 43 percent. The milk yield per forage cow rose from 2,396 kilos to 3,046 kilos or by 27 percent, while gross milk production increased 34 percent. Poultry egg yield increased 26 percent, and total egg production increased 86 percent.

The kolkhoz councils are making successful use of the possibilities of co-operation for the solution of questions of fodder production. Having encountered difficulties in providing the livestock-raising complexes with fodder, the kolkhozes and their councils created on the basis of the experience of the organization of interfarm cooperation in other branches specialized fodder associations in which irrigation systems, mixed-feed plants, premises for fodder storage and so forth are being built. These associations are becoming agrarian-industrial complexes of the stable production of balanced fodder. The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic government attach much significance to the further development of the interfarm fodder-production associations. Comprehensive measures have been outlined for the material-technical and organizational reinforcement of these formations. Their implementation will make it possible to balance the fodder with respect to protein and other nutrients and raise annual production to 3 million tons of mixed-feed, granules, pellets, carbamide concentrate, full-value fodder mixes and other fodders of industrial processing.

Performing the bulk of agrotechnical operations on the specialized fodder-producing farms, the collectives of the mechanization associations should organize their work such that fodder production be set up in exemplary

fashion on the land of these specialized organization. Big fields of crop rotation and the limited structure of the sown areas are contributing to insuring that an average 60 and more quintals of fodder units are obtained per hectare of the total land reserved for the fodder-producing associations. This yield must be programmed. In order to secure it it is necessary to perform all the essential operations strictly and on schedule.

The delegates who spoke at the congress noted with complete justification the high efficiency of the integrated production facilities in vegetable growing, tobacco growing, viticulture and fruit growing created on an interfarm basis.

In horticulture concentration is accompanied by a transition from old to new intensive orchards. There has been a reduction in the overall area occupied by orchards since the start of this transition, but the gross harvest rose from 621,000 tons in 1970 to 1,352,000 tons in 1977 or by a factor of 2.2. The fruit yield in the interkolkhoz orchards is rising to 250-350 quintals and, for certain seed varieties, to 500 and more quintals per hectare.

It is necessary to continue work on planting intensive-type interfarm orchards and the creation of a strong nursery base capable of providing the republic with high-quality planting material of promising varieties of fruit crops. The people's requirements are making an appreciable increase in the production of stone fruit, canned stone fruit and children's foods an urgent necessity.

The tracts of vegetable crops are being consolidated and interfarm crop rotations with even greater scope for the operation of machinery are being created in vegetable growing. Equipment is helping now not only in the processing but also the harvesting of the vegetables. The following figures point to the efficiency of specialization in this branch: in 1978 4 percent of the farms produced approximately 40 percent of the truck-garden product cultivated in the republic, with a profitability of 54 percent. The production of vegetables as a whole increased from 553,000 tons in 1970 to 1,215,000 tons in 1978. From having operated at a loss, vegetable growing has become profitable. In the kolkhoz sector this indicator rose to 35 percent last year.

As a result of the integration and intensification of fruit growing and vegetable growing the republic has raised supplies to the union fruit and vegetable stocks to 610,000 tons a year. The production of fruit and vegetable canned goods has risen to 1.6 billion standard cans.

In tobacco growing, where, thanks to the concentration of production in specialized farms, extensive opportunities have been revealed for the mechanization of many processes from the cultivation of the seedlings to the drying of the raw material, it is necessary to set course for an increase in the production of aromatized strains and a considerable improvement in the quality of the raw tobacco material.

It is now difficult to imagine an upsurge of the production forces of the kolkhoz countryside without interkolkhoz cooperation in construction production. This form of amalgamation of the kolkhozes' assets and efforts was created earlier than the other organizations of integrated production and long since justified itself. Thanks to the creation of the Kolkhozstroy, facilities are installed from plans by industrial methods, the volume of construction is concentrated, construction times have been cut, and there has been an increase in the efficiency of capital investments.

At the same time practice is setting the kolkhoz construction workers new, more complex tasks which are making increased demands on the organization of this important work. It is primarily necessary to proceed in the direction of a reduction in the cost of construction and the further concentration of capital investments and to direct them into the settlement of priority tasks and the creation of new and the modernization and expansion of operating production capital. It is necessary to strive for a constant increase in the construction workers' labor productivity and an appreciable improvement in the quality of their work.

The unified leadership of the kolkhozes and interfarm organizations has considerably improved the practice of current and long-term production planning in the kolkhoz sector and the distribution of physical assets and their use. Adhering in principle to the estimated determination from below of the farms' possibilities in an increase in production and the receipt of revenue, the kolkhoz councils have intensified the centralized orientation in planning, which has afforded an opportunity for the more precise determination of production reserves and a lessening of the differences in yield and production between farms and the better linkage of the production plans with procurement plans and the needs of the farms. The planning procedure which has been introduced has enabled the kolkhozes and interfarm formations and their structural subdivisions to make use of plan-normative indicators of expenditure, production costs, the ability to pay one's own way, the growth of revenue and the increase in the financial interest of the farms and collectives, that is, afforded an opportunity of considerably extending financially autonomous relations.

As a result of the improvement in the planning and coordination of the work of all economic structures fuller use has come to be made of the achievements of scientific-technical progress, a process of the leveling of the farms' production indicators has begun, and labor productivity is increasing.

Thanks to the unified leadership, there has been a considerable simplification of and fundamental improvement in the production and economic relations of the kolkhozes and interkolkhoz organizations with the material-technical maintenance branches and the increased efficiency of their mutual influence and proportional development. In daily practice this is effected by the direct--no middleman--relations between the kolkhozes and interfarm enterprises on the one hand and the processing plants and the service sphere on the other.

The activity of the kolkhoz councils has also made important changes in the solution of social problems in the countryside: measures are being implemented to bring agricultural production up to the level of industrial production in terms of work conditions and material compensation and to equalize the farms' production and economic possibilities; problems of the use of labor resources and of people's increased employment are being solved better; and a further growth in the culture of the agricultural workers and their professional training and communist consciousness is being secured. The appearance of the Moldavian countryside has changed.

There are also shortcomings in the operation in the integrated production facilities. An unjustified discrepancy between the farms in the proportional participation of these production facilities is being permitted. Contractual relations, particularly in the provision of the complexes with fodder, are being disrupted in a number of cases. Full use is not being of the capacities of certain interfarm enterprises. Economic work on the kolkhozes is in need of improvement, and it is necessary to insure more correct proportions between consumption and accumulation. It is necessary to work persistently on the removal of these shortcomings. It is important that the advantages of the new industrial techniques be revealed more rapidly and used more fully for an increase in the agricultural production growth rate.

In deciding questions of interfarm cooperation the kolkhoz councils have accelerated the process of the specialization of the kolkhozes themselves, eliminated the negative trends in this work and introduced a planned and stage-by-stage character in the complex process of the kolkhozes' transition from multibranch to specialized production and the greatest expediency of the concentration of the production of individual branches on the base of the farms. What is particularly important here is that the kolkhoz councils are trying to secure for each farm equal opportunities for production and economic growth and the solution of social problems. As a consequence, there has been an improvement in the structure of agricultural production and an acceleration of the process of specialization of the kolkhozes. Whereas in 1971 only 14 percent of the total number of farms was specialized in the production of one-two products, the current figure is 55 percent. In the central, southeast and southern parts of the republic the proportion of specialized kolkhozes has now reached 72, 82 and 90 percent respectively. The kolkhozes of Novoanenskiy, Kriulyanskiy, Slobodzeyskiy, Suvorovskiy, Kagul'skiy, Vulkaneshtskiy, Chadyr-Lungskiy and many other rayons have clearly determined the direction of specialization and are successfully developing in accordance therewith.

The growth of the farms' specialization is making it possible to increase the level of the concentration and efficiency of production. Thus a single specialized tobacco-growing kolkhoz, and there are 30 such in the republic, produces an average of 42<sup>c</sup> tons of raw material with a profitability of 41 percent, whereas this crop involves a loss or yields negligible profit on many kolkhozes. The kolkhozes specialized in grape production secure a profitability of up to 100 percent, whereas viticulture is loss-making or of low profitability on the multibranch farms.

The policy of specialization of the kolkhozes is affording an opportunity to considerably increase production and is thereby creating the main prerequisites for making the kolkhozes economically strong farms.

The kolkhozes' transition to specialized production is an economically and organizationally complex process insofar as it demands a restructuring of fixed production capital, the reorganization of crop rotation and a change in the nature of the labor and the retraining of many workers. For this reason it is essential that the division of labor between the farms and their specialization be effected consistently, in line with the development of inter-farm cooperation and the increase on the farms of the basic branches' production capacity, that is, in line with the maturation of the economic, organizational and social prerequisites.

Interfarm cooperation and the specialization of the kolkhozes are interconnected processes occurring simultaneously and should be effected in accordance with a unified plan of the division of labor, production location and product procurement. Kolkhoz, kolkhoz council and republic organization leaders should participate directly in controlling these processes. Throughout this work we must be guided by the plans and measures which drawn up in each rayon and the republic as a whole and which were approved by the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee 11th Plenum and other decisions of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic government.

The final production results are the principal determining outcome of the kolkhoz councils' positive activity in the last 6 years. In this time the gross agricultural product produced in the kolkhoz-cooperative sector increased 30 percent compared with the previous 6-year period, the gross harvests of grain increased 34 percent, of sugar beet 20 percent, tobacco 38 percent, vegetables 70 percent and fruit 33 percent. A particularly marked production growth was achieved in livestock raising. The figures given earlier are graphic testimony to this. Kolkhoz gross revenue increased 25 percent, and net income 13 percent. It should be mentioned here that 2 years of the 6 were extremely unfavorable for agricultural production.

From all that has been said the conclusion suggests itself that as new management organs the kolkhoz councils are an objectively necessary element of the kolkhoz system whose creation was timely and a powerful factor of the revelation of its vast potential in the realization of the tasks confronting the country's agrarian sector.

The leaders of the Gosplan and ministries and departments and the representatives of the working class and laboring intelligentsia present at our congress should be imbued in full with an understanding of the profound and important changes occurring in agriculture and render the kolkhoz councils comprehensive assistance in their activity. The Moldavian SSR Gosplan must raise the level of the planned management of the kolkhoz-cooperative economy and not confine itself to notifying the republic Kolkhoz Council of the plans for the sale

of products to the state but also provide for measures intended to secure the conditions for their successful implementation. It is essential to increase the plan's impact on an acceleration of the introduction of the achievements of scientific-technical progress and qualitatively new techniques.

The State Committee for the Supply of Production Equipment for Agriculture must organize the more precise and complete registration of kolkhoz and interfarm association orders for equipment, spares and materials, supply them to the farms on schedule, insure the high-quality capital repair of machinery and improve the engineering maintenance of the livestock-raising complexes.

The Ministry of Finance and the Gosbank are called upon to assist the kolkhozes and interkolkhoz enterprises and associations in the organization of the economy and help them with credit in the financing of essential measures. It is at the same time necessary to strictly cut short instances of the waste of and extravagance in monetary resources, for which it is necessary to increase state monitoring of the financial position of the kolkhozes and interkolkhoz organizations.

The Ministry of Agriculture and the workers of the science-production associations must perform more fully and on time their functions of scientific support for kolkhoz-cooperative production and supply the kolkhozes and interfarm formations on schedule with seeding material and pedigree livestock.

The "Moldvinprom," "Moldplodovoshchprom" and "Moldtabakprom" agrarian-industrial associations and the Ministry of Food Industry must finally surmount departmental narrow-mindedness and proceed more boldly in the direction of cooperation with the kolkhozes in those branches and types of production for which there are no possibilities of their concentration and industrialization on the farms. The state agrarian-industrial associations are charged with improving production and economic relations with the kolkhozes and interfarm organizations supplying the industrial enterprises with raw material.

It is essential that the Gosstroy and the ministries of construction, rural construction and land reclamation and water resources work closely with the Kolkhozstroy and strive for the correct use of the potential of the planning institutes and the capacities of the construction organizations through joint efforts.

In developing and reinforcing mutual cooperation the state organizations and kolkhoz councils must display greater initiative and current-basis efficiency in the solution of problems which arise and perfect their economic, organizational, legal and other relations.

Comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee has invested great responsibility in our party organization, in you and in all Moldavian kolkhoz members for the formulation

and practical verification of new organizational forms of the concentration of production fundamentally different from the previous organs of management of the kolkhoz-cooperative economy.

The high evaluation of the experience of the Moldavian peasants made by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 25th party congress and in a number of his other speeches and in the documents of the CPSU Central Committee July Plenum and the unremitting attention to it by our party, scientists and agricultural workers of other republics make it incumbent upon all of us, primarily you kolkhoz activists, specialists and farm managers, to adopt a considerably more serious and more responsible attitude toward the formulation and implementation of measures for production concentration, the choice and application of techniques and the forms of organization of the integrated production facilities, farm specialization, interfarm cooperation and agrarian-industrial integration and the methods of work of the kolkhoz councils and to adopt this decision or the other only after due consideration. It is with precisely this approach to matters that our experiment will succeed in securing the main thing--the highest labor productivity compared with the multibranch forms of economic planning, the highest production efficiency and the best product quality. We must strive for the unconditional fulfillment and overfulfillment of all plans and pledges to the state, the rapid growth of the economy of the farms and the more complete solution of social problems. Displaying constant concern for the development and establishment of the new forms and methods of the organization and management of agriculture, during this January's visit to Moldavia Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev drew our attention to the fact that it is necessary to strive not only for success in the work of the interfarm formations but also to insure that their activity exert a positive influence on the development of all branches of agriculture. Realization of this instruction of Leonid Il'ich's is our principal task. It concentrates the basic import of the measures being implemented in the republic for widespread integration and an improvement in the management of the kolkhoz-cooperative sector.

Permit me to express the confidence that, relying on the modern production forces and progressive forms of the organization of production and management, the laboring peasantry of Moldavia will cope successfully with the priority tasks in implementation of the historic decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress (I. I. Bodyul's speech was received with great attention and was repeatedly interrupted by prolonged applause).

#### Kolkhoz Congress Decree

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 24 May 79 pp 1-2

[Text] Having heard and discussed the report of N. M. Zaychenko, chairman of the Moldavian SSR Kolkhoz Council, "Report of the Moldavian SSR Kolkhoz Council and the Tasks of the Kolkhozes, Interfarm Associations and Enterprises for the Further Development of Agricultural Production and its

**Increased Efficiency and an Improvement in the Forms and Methods of Work in the Light of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee July and November (1978) Plenums and the Propositions and Conclusions on Agrarian Questions Contained in the Speeches of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium,"** the Third Moldavian SSR Kolkhoz Members Congress observes that under the leadership of the party, soviet and agricultural organs the kolkhozes and interkolkhoz associations and enterprises have implemented a number of practical measures to reinforce the material-technical base of agriculture, increase the growth rate of agricultural production and increase its efficiency and work quality.

Some R2.2 billion of cooperative and state capital were spent on the production and social-cultural development of the kolkhoz-cooperative sector in the 6 years that have elapsed since the Second Moldavian SSR Kolkhoz Members Congress. The value of the fixed capital at the end of 1978 was R3.5 billion and had doubled compared with the previous years. The machinery and tractor pool had grown by a factor of 1.8, power capacities had increased by a factor of 1.7, mineral fertilizer supplies by 1.6 and the area of irrigable land by 1.5.

Compared with the previous 6 years the average annual gross agricultural product increased by a factor of 1.3 in this period. The production of grain increased 34 percent, sugar beet 20 percent, tobacco 38 percent, vegetables 70 percent, fruit 33 percent, grapes 4 percent, meat 65 percent, milk 47 percent, eggs 83 percent and wool 20 percent. The cereals yield increased from 34.6 quintals in 1972 to 38.9 quintals per hectare in 1978, including that of winter wheat from 33 to 40.6 quintals. The milk yield per forage cow amounted to 2,472 kilos in 1972, but to 3,046 kilos in 1978. Social labor productivity increased 29.9 percent, and there was a reduction in labor input per unit product.

The increase in the production of products and their marketability made it possible to strengthen the economy of the kolkhozes. Gross revenue per 100 hectares of agricultural land increased 24.5 percent, and profit increased 13.2 percent.

The material well-being of the kolkhoz members and interfarm association and enterprise workers has increased. All the interkolkhoz associations and enterprises and approximately one-half of the kolkhozes compensate labor at the level of the state agricultural enterprises.

Some R219.3 million was spent on the development of social-cultural building in these years or 14 percent more than in the previous period. An extensive network of clubs and houses of culture, libraries, movie theaters, medical establishments, sports fixtures and other social-cultural facilities has been built in the countryside. The centers of the farms are built up, as a rule, in accordance with master plans, individual housing is being constructed in considerable volumes, and work on improving the rural localities and planting greenery is being carried out everywhere.

The production, economic and social successes of the development of the kolkhozes and interkolkhoz enterprises and associations are inseparably connected with the work being performed in the republic on the specialization and concentration of agricultural production on the basis of interfarm cooperation and agrarian-industrial integration. Interfarm cooperation has become a fundamentally new direction in the implementation of Lenin's cooperative plan. It is revealing the inexhaustible potential of the development of the kolkhoz system.

Interfarm cooperation is being developed entirely in accordance with the CPSU Central Committee decree "Further Development of the Specialization and Concentration of Agricultural Production on the Basis of Interfarm Cooperation and Agrarian-Industrial Integration" and the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee 11th Plenum decree "Measures To Implement the Party's Policy of the Further Specialization and Concentration of Agricultural Production."

Interkolkhoz cooperation currently embraces livestock raising, horticulture, fodder production, land reclamation, chemicalization, capital construction and other branches of agriculture and the spheres servicing it. The concentration of technical facilities in the production associations for the mechanization and electrification of agricultural production has become a central element of interfarm cooperation.

The fixed capital of the integrated production facilities has risen to R1.4 billion or 40 percent of the total. Some 66 percent of the beef, 78 percent of the pork and 78 percent of the eggs are produced and 80 percent of the calves for the replenishment of the dairy farms are raised on an interfarm basis in the kolkhoz-cooperative sector.

The specialized fodder-production associations which have been created have exerted a positive influence on the intensification of the production, an improvement in the quality and a reduction in the expenditure of fodder per unit product.

Industrial horticulture has been extensively developed. Over 20,000 hectares of intensive orchards have been planted and interfarm cooperation in viticulture has begun in recent years.

In the period 1973-1978 the interkolkhoz construction organizations assimilated R836 million of capital investments of 1.6 times more than in the previous 6-year period.

Work is being performed on improving planning, the organization of intrafarm computations, financing, accounting and accountability. Over 90 percent of the production subdivisions of the kolkhozes and interfarm associations and enterprises are operating on a financially autonomous basis.

There has been an improvement in the qualitative composition of the management workers and specialists. Almost all the kolkhozes and interkolkhoz

associations and enterprises are headed by managers with higher education, and 69 percent of the brigades and livestock sections are headed by specialists.

At the same time the congress of Moldavian SSR kolkhoz members observes that the rayon kolkhoz councils, kolkhozes and interfarm organizations are not yet making full use of the opportunities for an increase in the production of agricultural products and are failing to insure the fulfillment of fixed plans. The level of production that has been achieved is failing to satisfy the population's growing food and industry's raw material requirements.

The kolkhoz councils are still not making full use of the advantages of the new forms of the organization and management of agricultural production and, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, pointed out during his visit to Moldavia, have not achieved the interfarm associations' proper influence on the development of all of agriculture.

Great lagging in the development of agricultural production has been permitted by the kolkhozes and interkolkhoz associations and enterprises of Vulkaneshtskiy, Rezinskiy, Dondyushanskiy, Kamenskiy, Sorokskiy, Oknitskiy and Floreshtskiy rayons.

There are serious shortcomings in grain production. Many farms are introducing progressive techniques of the cultivation of grain crops slowly, obtaining small harvests from year to year and failing to fulfill the plans for grain production and procurements.

Great lagging has been permitted in the production of sunflower, tobacco and sugar beet. The areas sown to these crops are being unjustifiably reduced in a number of places, and due attention is not being paid to the observance of agrotechnical measures, an improvement in the structure of the sown areas and the organization of effective plant protection.

Insufficient use is being made of available reserves of an increase in the gross harvests and an increase in the quality of grapes and fruit.

Losses of agricultural products during harvesting, transportation and storage are great, as before.

The possibilities of the associations for the mechanization and electrification of agricultural production which have been created for the introduction of new industrial techniques, land reclamation and chemicalization and an increase in the yield and gross harvests of agricultural crops are not being revealed everywhere.

The capacities of the interfarm livestock-raising complexes are being assimilated slowly, violation of the techniques of the rearing and fattening of livestock is tolerated, animal and poultry productiveness is growing insufficiently, and there are big losses in the herd.

There is serious lagging in the production of fodder, particularly grain fodder and vegetable protein. Livestock raising is not being fully supplied with full-value fodder.

The organization of capital construction fails to correspond to current requirements. Outdated planning decisions are frequently applied, and increases in costs and mistakes in the location of the projects are permitted. There is a large proportion of incomplete construction. Many projects are commissioned greatly beyond the scheduled times and with a low quality of construction and installation work.

There are serious shortcomings in economic work, and the interfarm formations' production-economic mutual relations with the farms participating in the co-operation are being perfected slowly. Contractual commitments for the supply of fodder and young animals and the distribution of products that have been produced and profit that has been obtained are not being observed.

Inadequate work is being performed on intensifying the regime of savings and thrift and the preservation of kolkhoz-cooperative property. Overmanning in administrative-managerial, production and maintenance personnel is permitted on the kolkhozes and in the interfarm enterprises. Due attention is not being paid to the efficacy of financial autonomy and the introduction of scientifically substantiated output norms and progressive forms of labor organization and remuneration. The style and methods of work of certain rayon kolkhoz councils do not fully correspond to the demands made on agricultural production.

Insufficient work is being performed on the selection, placement and education of personnel and the training of workers of the mass trades. A number of rayon kolkhoz soviets is failing to adopt measures to provide the farms with the necessary machine-operator personnel and to raise their grades, and questions of an improvement in their work and social conditions are not being settled at the proper level.

The Third Moldavian SSE Kolkhoz Members Congress resolves:

1. To approve the activity of the Moldavian SSR Kolkhoz Council in implementation of the decisions of the Second Kolkhoz Members Congress. To recognize the work of the Moldavian SSR Kolkhoz Council in the period under review as satisfactory.
2. To consider as a most important task of the Moldavian SSR Kolkhoz Council, rayon kolkhoz soviets, kolkhozes and interkolkhoz associations and enterprises the mobilization of all agricultural workers for the successful fulfillment of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee July and November (1978) plenums and the instructions and recommendations of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, on agrarian questions and realization of the plans and socialist pledges of the fourth year and of the 10th Five-Year Plan as a whole.

3. That the Moldavian SSR Kolkhoz Council and the rayon kolkhoz councils must insure the utmost reinforcement and further development of the material-technical base of the kolkhozes and interfarm associations and enterprises and the most rational use of capital investments, fixed and working capital and labor resources and strive for a considerable growth in production and its increased efficiency and an increase in labor productivity, an upsurge in the economy of the farms and a rise in the working people's well-being.

4. To consider the specialization and concentration of agricultural production on the basis of interfarm cooperation and agrarian-industrial integration the seminal direction of agriculture's further development. To consistently and persistently perform work on the organizational-economic strengthening and development of the associations for the mechanization and electrification of agricultural production--the core of the interfarm co-operation processes.

5. To consider the paramount task in the farming sphere the utmost increase in the production of grain and an increase in its quality and to secure a dynamic growth in yield on the basis of the introduction of progressive techniques of the cultivation of agricultural crops and high-yield strains and hybrids, improvement of the structure of the sown areas, the efficient use of improved land and an improvement in seed breeding. In accordance with the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee July (1978) Plenum to raise grain production in the 11th Five-Year Plan to 1 ton per man and to obtain no less than 40 quintals of grain crops per hectare.

6. To implement measures to increase the yield and augment the production of sunflower. To introduce in production everywhere new highly productive strains and hybrids of sunflower resistant to broomrape, storage rot and other diseases and pests.

To organize the cultivation of sugar beet on the basis of the extensive introduction of new techniques and a further increase in the level of concentration of the sown areas. To increase the norms of the application of mineral and organic fertilizer.

To accelerate tobacco growing's transition to an industrial footing, reinforce its material-technical base and improve the agrotechnical cultivation and afterharvest finishing of the tobacco. To concentrate the cultivation of the tobacco seedlings on an industrial basis and to plant them by the machine method.

7. To adopt measures for the further development of vegetable growing. To continue work on the specialization and concentration of vegetable production on the basis of interfarm crop rotation and specialized farms. To introduce progressive techniques and raise the level of mechanized operations in the sector.

To lay out the interfarm orchards in planned fashion in accordance with a compact arrangement on an industrial basis and insure a sharp increase in the yield and gross harvests of fruit.

To introduce progressive techniques of grape production everywhere. To improve the quality of the plans for the layout and modernization of the vineyards, paying particular attention to the scientifically substantiated location of the plantations with consideration of the microclimatic zones and the new high-stem training of the vineyards. To improve the production of the grape planting material and of new and promising varieties resistant to frosts and disease.

To insure the timely and high-quality implementation of all agrotechnical measures and the application of machinery and equipment systems making it possible to perform work within the optimum times, reliably protect the vegetables and fruit and grape plantations against pests and disease and sharply increase product quality.

8. To increase the responsibility of the interkolkhoz agrochemical centers for insuring the scientifically substantiated application of organic and mineral fertilizer and plant-protection agents. To bring chemicalization's material-technical base into line with the increased volumes of the application of chemical agents in agriculture.

9. To secure a fundamental improvement in the use and an increase in the fertility of improved land. To develop small-scale irrigation more extensively, eliminate the lagging in the assimilation of the improved land, considerably improve agrotechnics in irrigated farming and raise the yield of agricultural crops. To consistently implement measures for the preservation and rational use of land and natural resources, primarily plowland, protection of the soils against water and wind erosion, the recultivation of the land and the prevention of environmental pollution.

10. To consider as a priority task of the Moldavian SSR Kolkhoz Council, the rayon kolkhoz councils and managers and specialists of kolkhozes and inter-farm associations and enterprises the implementation of practical measures for fulfillment of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee 11th Plenum 10 April 1979 decree "Measures for an Increase in Fodder Production and the Further Development of Livestock Raising in the Republic in the Light of the Requirements of the CPSU Central Committee July and November (1978) Plenums and the Instructions and Recommendations Expressed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in his Election Speech and During his Visit to Moldavia."

To strive this very year for the fulfillment of the plans and socialist pledges for the production of meat, milk and other livestock-raising products by each farm and interkolkhoz association and enterprise. To adopt the necessary measures and utilize all opportunities to surmount the lagging in the

in the plan for the production and sale to the state of livestock-raising products which has been allowed to occur in the 10th Five-Year Plan.

To pay particular attention to the accelerated assimilation and the fullest utilization of the production capacities of all specialized livestock-raising and poultry-breeding complexes.

To work daily on increasing the number and productiveness of the livestock and poultry, an improvement in breeding, the strictest observance of production techniques, an improvement in the use of fodder and zooveterinary services, insuring the preservation of the herd and raising product quality and the economic efficiency of the branch.

11. To secure an increase in meat production thanks to the fullest use of the reserves and physiological possibilities of cattle. To strive for an issue of calves of no less than 95 head per 100 cows and a sharp reduction in the loss of young animals. To raise the average daily weight gain of cattle during maturation and fattening on the interfarm complexes to 800 grams and the average live weight per head of cattle surrendered for meat to no less than 420-450 kilos with 80 percent being of top fatness.

12. To implement the necessary measures for the further development of hog raising. To consider as the main direction of the branch's development and intensification the completion of its transition to industrial techniques. To increase the efficiency of the use of the sows and strive to obtain no less than two farrowings a year.

13. To strive for the implementation of a comprehensive program of the development of dairy livestock raising envisaging measures for further concentration and specialization and a new direction of the breeding of dairy cattle with the extensive use of the Guernsey and Holstein-Friesian breeds for raising animals of high productiveness adapted to machine technology. To pay more attention to raising young replacement stock at the industrial-type complexes and to insure in the immediate future the annual introduction to the dairy herd of no less than 35-40 heifers per 100 cows and also the creation in each rayon of conditions for increasing the milk yield of cows-primapara heifers to assess their productiveness following first lactation. Proceeding from the decisions of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee July 1978 Plenum, to raise in the next five-year plan the per cow milk yield on the kolkhozes and at the interfarm associations to 3,800-4,000 kilos.

14. To secure a further growth in the production of sheep-breeding products thanks to an increase in the number of the herd, an improvement in the breeding and productive properties of the animals, construction of the necessary production premises, introduction of the mechanization of production processes, the extension of specialization, creation of the material-technical base, an increase in the proportion of ewes in the structure of the herd to 75-80 percent, the introduction in all livestock sections of the artificial

insemination of the entire parent herd and the creation of large-scale mechanized sections and complexes with the pen-pasture care of the sheep.

15. The development and implementation of measures to increase the production of eggs and poultry meat and to increase for this the efficiency of the use of the production capacities of the operating poultry factories, introduce new mechanized and transfer lines and complete the comprehensive automation of all production processes with the simultaneous transition to the creation of automated poultry houses. To switch the care of the parent poultry herd and the raising of broilers to latticed batteries and to struggle for a reduction in the loss of poultry.

16. For the purpose of increasing the production of meat and other livestock-raising and poultry-breeding products to implement measures for the creation on all kolkhozes and in interkolkhoz associations of dairy, hog-raising, sheep-breeding, poultry-breeding and rabbit-breeding sections. For the organization of the production of livestock-raising products on the private farms of the kolkhoz members and interfarm association and enterprise workers to render them constant assistance in the acquisition of young animal and poultry replacement stock and to apportion fodder.

17. To consider a most important task of the kolkhoz councils and the kolkhoz and interfarm association and enterprise managers the creation on each farm of a stable fodder base which fully satisfies the fodder requirements of public livestock raising and of the stock which is privately owned by the citizens and also the creation of essential carryover fodder stocks. To impart a specialized character to fodder production on the farms.

To adopt measures for the intensification of fodder production and the reinforcement of the material-technical base of the fodder-production associations. To complete the organizational-economic setup in them in 1979, improve the structure and introduce promising, high-yield fodder crops and progressive techniques in order that they may fully provide the interfarm complexes of cattle and sheep with coarse, succulent, green and concentrated fodder.

To devote particular attention to the solution of the problem of fodder protein through an increase in the production of soybean and other high-protein fodder crops and also the expansion of the areas of irrigable fodder land.

To introduce on the kolkhozes and in the fodder-production associations specialized intensive fodder crop rotations and techniques insuring an increase in the yield of fodder crops and a yield of no less than 60-70 quintals of fodder units per sown hectare, and of 80-100 quintals on irrigable land. Through the construction of new and modernization of operating interfarm fodder-processing enterprises to considerably increase the production of mixed feed and full-ration granulated fodder mixes and carbamide concentrate.

18. Guided by the decisions of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum (July 1978), to secure the further development of capital

construction and an improvement in the quality of work. To increase the efficiency of capital investments, accelerate the commissioning and assimilation of new production capacities, improve planning and design work and reduce the duration of construction. To strive for a considerable reduction in the costs of rural construction projects and introduce more extensively progressive techniques and more economical materials and structures. To adopt practical measures for a reduction in the amount of incomplete construction, the achievement of a high technical-economic level of planning decisions and the elimination of shortcomings in the organization of labor and the use construction equipment.

19. To raise the level of economic work and strengthen the organizing and mobilizing role of the plan. To insure strict observance of plan, production and labor discipline, the introduction of the most progressive forms of labor organization and remuneration, the decisive elimination of the causes of an increase in managerial, production and maintenance personnel and the eradication of overmanning which has been permitted and an improvement in accounting and accountability and auditing work and to implement measures for the further application and improvement of internal cost accounting and the revelation and use of reserves of production for an increase in its profitability.

20. To draw the particular attention of the Moldavian SSR Kolkhoz Council and the rayon kolkhoz councils to the further improvement of production-economic mutual relations and to struggle decisively against violations of the statutory regulations on the distribution of products which have been produced and profit which has been obtained. To insure the strict observance of the democratic principles of management on the kolkhozes and in the interfarm enterprises and the further development of the public activeness and initiative of the kolkhoz members and interfarm association and enterprise workers and to enhance the role of the kolkhozes in the management of of the integrated production facilities.

21. On the basis of the growth of the economy and an increase in the efficiency of social production to strive for the fuller satisfaction of the kolkhoz and interkolkhoz formation workers' increasing material and spiritual requirements. To insure the fulfillment of the plans of the socioeconomic development of the kolkhozes and interkolkhoz associations and develop more extensively the construction of general education schools, houses of culture, clubs, sports fixtures and other cultural-social facilities. To provide in the course of 1979-1995 for the construction on all kolkhozes and in interkolkhoz associations of children's preschool establishments sufficient for them to embrace all children of preschool age. To devote constant attention to the provision of the countryside with amenities, an improvement in socio-economic and production conditions and the utmost reduction in manual, unskilled and heavy physical labor, which will contribute to the further erasure of the differences between city and countryside and physical and mental labor.

22. To improve work on the training, placement and education of kolkhoz and interkolkhoz formation personnel and promote young specialists to management more boldly. To display more concern for middle-tier and mass profession personnel, particularly machine operators and livestock raisers. To consistently strive to insure tha all intrafarm subdivisions be headed by specialists with higher and secondary qualifications.

The Third Moldavian SSR Kolkhoz Members Congress calls on all kolkhoz members and interkolkhoz association and enterprise workers to exert the maximum efforts, knowledge and expertise for the implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the CPSU Central Committee July and November (1978) plenums and the 14th Moldavian Communist Party Congress and the instructions and recommendations of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, expressed during his visit to Moldavia and assures the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and republic government that, joining actively in all-union socialist competition, the workers of the countryside will secure fulfillment of the plans and pledges of 1979 and the 10th Five-Year Plan as a whole and will make a worthy contribution to the common cause of the building of communism in our country.

8850  
CSO: 1800

NATIONAL

TURKMEN CP PLENUM DISCUSSES CPSU DECISION ON SHORTCOMINGS

Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 14 Jun 79 LD

[Text] A plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan has discussed the decision of the CPSU Central Committee entitled "account of the work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan in fulfilling the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the tasks of the republic party organization. "A report was presented by Gapurov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan.

It was stated at the plenum that the decision points out completely correctly that the republic party organization has not yet been able to insure the dynamic and comprehensive development of social production and the enhancement of its efficiency, the acceleration of scientific and technological progress and the all-round improvement of the quality of work at all levels of the national economy and in the management sphere. The participants in the plenum emphasized that the decision is an inestimable practical aid and specific action program for the republic party organization in the further improvement of organizational, economic and ideological work.

CSO: 1800

REGIONAL

RASHIDOV ADDRESSES UZBEK CP CC PLENUM

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 9 Jul 79 pp 1-3

[Report on 8 June plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan: "Ideological Work--on the Level of New Requirements"]

[Excerpt] Participants of the just held plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan discussed the tasks of the republic party organization relating to the fulfillment of the decree of the CC CPSU "On Further Improving Ideological and Political Educational Work." Comrade Sh.R. Rashidov made an address at the plenum. "At the present time," he said, "there is tremendous growth in the importance of continuous improvement of ideological and political educational work--an important front in the struggle for communism. The CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political Educational Work" is a new display of the party's concern for communist education of the masses. This important, basic political document summarizes the results of the party's activities in this field in recent years, outlines measures for the elimination of existing defects and defines the tasks of party organizations for further raising the level and effectiveness of political work among the masses in accordance with the new requirements.

"The nature of ideological and political education of the workers was comprehensively described by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev at the 25th CPSU Congress. He pointed out that the central task of the party, the Soviet state and all public organizations consists in 'inculcating in every Soviet individual a high level of ideology, culture and a communist attitude toward labor, moral purity and physical perfection and establishing an active life position.' A comprehensive approach to a communist education of workers is in indissoluble unity with all of these factors.

"Implementing the decisions of the 25th party congress and guided by the decrees of the CC CPSU, the party organization of Uzbekistan is carrying out significant ideological and political educational work. Party committees have started to penetrate more deeply in its content and to exercise leadership in a more qualified manner with all the means of ideological influence.

"The growth of the public awareness of the republic's workers is clearly shown in the successes of its national economy, the broad scope of socialist competition for ahead-of-schedule fulfillment of the tasks of the 10th Five-Year Plan and in the patriotic initiatives and remarkable achievements of innovators and entire labor collectives in industry, construction, agriculture and in scientific and cultural institutions.

"At the same time deficiencies in ideological and political educational work, as pointed out in the decree of the CC CPSU, exist among us. It is noted perfectly correctly 'that the quality of this work does not always meet the higher educational and cultural level and needs of Soviet people and does not take adequate account of the dynamic character of social-economic processes and spiritual life of contemporary Soviet society. The character of the sharply exacerbated ideological struggle on the international arena is not always sufficiently taken into consideration."

"A most important condition in the establishment of social activity and interest of workers in the struggle for communism," the speaker emphasized, "is the capability and degree of their information relative to all current problems of interest to them. The Soviet individual is his country's master; he senses his participation in the events of internal and international life for this reason, the broader his interests, the more does he want to know and does know and the more active is his life position.

"The republic has a widely ramified information and propaganda apparatus. But many defects still exist in the operation of mass information media. It is rare that materials are made public and transmitted which force the reader, viewer, or hearer to think, to find something new in them which makes it possible to advance forward more rapidly to speed up scientific-technical progress and to increase labor productivity. Far from well with us is the publication of critical materials.

"One of the chief reasons for these and other shortcomings is the fact that a number of party committees are weak in the supervision of mass information organs. It is essential that all organs of mass information and influence conduct political educational work more actively.

"In our information work we have to explain more thoroughly what is being done and what should be done for the solution of outstanding tasks of social-economic and cultural construction and for the further development of Soviet democracy and the strengthening of socialism's statehood. For these ends it is necessary to make broad use of the speeches of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev to the voters of the Baumanetskiy district and to the first session of the Tenth Convocation of the USSR Supreme Soviet where a thorough working out of these and other questions relating to the further progress of Soviet society is being maintained.

"The Central Committee of the CPSU has approved the practice of holding single political days with participation of members of the CC CPSU, the Central Committees of the communist parties of the union republics and supervisory party,

soviet, trade-union, komsomol and operational cadres. This practice should be introduced everywhere in the republic. It is necessary to raise to a new level the work of those who are directly engaged in ideological educational activities, especially the ideological sections of party and komsomol committees.

"The CC CPSU decree puts into the forefront the forming in Soviet people of a scientific outlook. It is namely this that constitutes the core of ideological and political educational work.

"A well-structured system of political education has been established in the republic. We have published in the Uzbek language the chief works of the founders of scientific communism, the 4th edition and the 44th volume of the "Complete Works of V.I. Lenin," the works of L.I. Brezhnev and other leaders of the CPSU and the Soviet state. Economic education is being increasingly widely developed.

"The educational year is now coming to a close in the network of political and economic education, and preparations are starting for the new year. These preparations must be employed in such a way that the content, forms and methods of training and education contribute more actively to a thorough mastery of revolutionary theory by students.

"A constituent part of ideological activity is mass political work among the working people. In the time that has elapsed since the 25th party congress and especially since the adoption of the CC CPSU decree on oral political agitation and propaganda, this work has become perceptibly more activated in the republic. At the same time, defects and lapses still are to be found in mass political work. Not all party organizations have raised to the required level the work of agitation collectives or individual work with workers; in a number of organizations, groups of political information personnel, individual supervisory personnel are manifestly underestimating the importance of appearances at labor collectives.

"In regard to mass political work, propaganda and agitation, it is once more necessary to emphasize that every effort has to be applied to intensify its offensive character. We should thoroughly show the successes of real socialism, point out its role in international life, in the fortunes of mankind and systematically throw light on the life of the socialist countries, on the activities of the fraternal communist and workers parties and their selfless struggle for the basic interests of all workers.

"Wide use should be made in this work of the documents of the recent visit of the Soviet party and government delegation to Hungary led by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev. The results of the visit were very enthusiastically met and approved by the Soviet people and all progressive mankind. The leninist peace-loving policy of the CPSU and the tireless fight of our party and Soviet state for peace and international security should be comprehensively and in a scientific way, profitably and convincingly propagandized.

"Party committees have to upgrade unceasingly still more the skills of workers of the ideological front and show concern for the strengthening of the material-technical base of mass political work.

"A most important requirement of propaganda and agitation is that they be more businesslike and concrete and be more closely related to the solution of economic and political problems. An effective means of fusing political and labor education is socialist competition. It is impossible not to mention that serious deficiencies still exist in the supervision of socialist competition. It is necessary to use more fully the possibilities of socialist competition and progressive forms of labor organization in industry, agriculture, construction, construction and transport. It is necessary to inform workers in a timely and broad way of competition progress and to be concerned with the growth of their vocational and cultural level, to be sensitive to the needs and requirements of people and to respect the opinion of labor-collective members. When summarizing the results of competition it is necessary without fail to take into consideration not only production indicators but also the condition of educational work.

"We have already pointed out that in addition to the major achievements attained by the republic in the three years of the 10th Five-Year Plan, there are still many deficiencies in industry, construction and agriculture.

"The duty and sacred obligation of all party organizations of the republic are to make the best possible use of the rich arsenal of forms and methods of ideological and emotional influence accumulated by the party in mobilizing workers to the fulfillment of the targets of the 10th Five-Year Plan."

The speaker dwelt in detail on the questions of formation of communist morality. "The workers of Uzbekistan," he said, "like all Soviet people, are distinguished by high ideology, devotion to the party and the Motherland, fidelity to the friendship of peoples, labor activeness and other noble moral qualities of the builders of the new society.

"Against this background, it is even more intolerable to still find in the life of the people monstrous vestiges of the past that are alien to socialism, namely, greed, bribery, the desire to seize as much as possible from society, mismanagement and waste, drunkenness and hooliganism, bureaucracy and an insensitive attitude toward people, as well as violations of labor discipline and public order.

"In the struggle against amoral manifestation, the power of public opinion and the educative role of the collective are extremely great, and their influence must be fully exerted. It would be useful to make use of the experience of the Moscow City Party Organization in the development of new forms of moral education. Thus there were developed in Moscow the 'Moral Principles of a Resident of an Exemplary Communist City.' These principles were discussed and approved by all labor collectives of the city. The ideological aktiv of Moscow is doing much work aimed at having these principles widely adopted in the life of Muscovites everywhere--in production, in social activities and in everyday life.

"The education of workers in the spirit of socialist internationalism and Soviet patriotism is the object of everyday concern of the republic's party organization. We must establish in each individual the feeling of pride in the Socialist Fatherland, the indestructible fraternal friendship of the peoples of the USSR, a respect for the national dignity and national culture and intolerance of any displays of nationalism.

"The study of the Russian language--the language of international intercourse of the Soviet people--is an especially powerful means of inculcating internationalism and an important factor in bringing nations and nationalities closer together. Mastery of the Russian language by all the workers of the republic constitutes a most important task and is the direct obligation of all party organizations.

"Atheist education of workers is of major importance in ideological-political work. It is necessary to keep in mind that the inculcation of conscious participation in communist construction as an active life position of an individual requires his liberation from religious morality and vestiges of the past in everyday life that are supported by religion.

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan and the government of the republic are paying constant and unwavering attention to questions of upgrading the level of everyday life, especially in the countryside. Many measures are being implemented to further improve this work, which is of such important social value. Unfortunately, there are still to be found such party and soviet personnel and directors of farms who manifestly underestimate work in raising the spiritual culture of rural workers. There should be a radical improvement in the work of clubs, libraries and all cultural centers, and their ties should be strengthened with labor collectives and their role in enriching the spiritual world of the people should be enhanced in every possible way.

"In educating workers in the spirit of a high level of ideology and a communist attitude toward labor, as well as observance of the moral principles of our society, a tremendous role belongs to literature and art. They are a powerful tool of the party and inspire Soviet people in their struggle for communist ideals. We must be constantly concerned with the inculcation of a high level of ideology, civic spirit, development of the creative initiative of writers, artist, composers, people on the stage and in motion pictures, architects and journalists. We must see to it that the artistic intelligentsia sense daily its organic contact with what the republic's and the country's workers do and how they live.

"The decree of the CC CPSU devotes particular attention to questions dealing with the upbringing of youth. Questions of work with young people are particularly pertinent in regard to our republic, where a significant portion of the population is made up of young people up to 30 years of age. The youth of Uzbekistan are selflessly working in industry and agriculture, on the virgin lands and at construction projects, in building the BAM and in student construction brigades. At the same time we also frequently encounter young

people who boast of their skepticism, apolitical character, have a contemptuous attitude toward labor and violate norms of morality, law and order and rules of socialist community life.

"Our task is to see that all young men and women achieve a deep and enthusiastic knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory and scientific-technical skills. An important role in all this belongs to the public-education system--to pre-school institutions, schools, secondary specialized and vocational-technical schools and higher educational institutions.

"All this obliges party organizations and public-education personnel to approach with special responsibility to the solution of questions of education and labor training in the secondary school and to the vocational orientation of young men and women.

"In recent years, more attention has come to be paid to the development of a network for vocational and technical education. And our duty--the duty of party and all public organizations, ministries and departments is to exercise untiring concern for the expansion of a network of vocational and technical schools and for the improvement of training, production and educational work in them.

"In ideological-political education of the youth, a big role is played by higher and secondary specialized educational institutions. Higher educational institutions, teknikums and schools in the republic have accumulated profitable experience in the training of deeply ideological, highly skilled specialists. At the same time, many of them are doing a poor job of educational work; especially during extraclass time and in dormitories, the necessary concern is not shown for students and participants in improving their cultural and everyday conditions.

"An object of constant concern to party organizations and operational organs is the paying of attention on a daily basis to the communist education of worker and farm youth, to their vocational and spiritual growth, to the creation of conditions for highly productive labor, study and recreation and to the development of the preceptor movement for working youth.

"Party, komsomol organizations Sports Committees of the republic and the DESAAF must devote unremitting attention to the military and patriotic education of young men and women, upgrade their physical condition and prepare young people for service in the ranks of the Soviet Army.

"For this end, a comprehensive plan of development of physical culture and sports in the republic should be developed. More new sports facilities and structures should be built, and competitions in mass physical-culture and military-application types of sports should be held.

"The improvement of ideological and political educational work requires deeply scientific and thoughtful guidance. At the present time, there is not, nor can there be, a single sector in the building of communism that is not based on a scientific foundation. This fully applies to the work of communist education.

"In the solution of these tasks, an important role belongs to current and long-term planning. The CC CPSU makes it incumbent on party committees for the purpose of comprehensive solution of problems of ideological educational work to work out long-term and annual plans of communist education, coordinating the efforts of party, soviet, public and economic organizations to ensure unity of ideological-political, labor and moral education of all groups of the population.

"The basis of such scientific, purposeful planning is reliable information, disclosing not only separate facts and occurrences but also processes and tendencies. This is why it is necessary for us to solve the question of a significant improvement in sociological research in the field of ideological and political educational work.

"Improvement of political educational work is the first duty of all communists. Every communist, no matter where he works, is called upon to serve as a propagandist and bearer of the ideas of Lenin's party and to assign to this important matter all his skills, experience and the total force of his mind. Party committees and primary party organizations, as required by the decisions of the 25th party congress and the CC CPSU decree, have to work out and implement concrete measures to eliminate existing defects, improve the ideological and political educational work and raise its efficiency and quality. The CC CPSU decree should be discussed at the meetings of all primary party organizations and at all party raykom, gorkom and obkom plenums. Talks should be organized on current problems of ideological work and communist education of workers before the working personnel of the party apparatus, lecturers, speakers, political information officers and agitators.

"In the light of the decree of the Central Committee much remains to be done by trade-union, the komsomol, educational and cultural organs, creative unions and scientific institutions and the republic Znamye Society. They have to make a thorough review of the tasks stemming from the party's requirements and develop concrete measures for their implementation. This must be done by all of the republic's ministries and departments.

"It is essential that local soviets of people's deputies study their tasks relating to the further improvement of educational work among the population.

"Big and responsible tasks face party organizations, ideological workers and cultural and art workers in the decisions of the 25th party congress and the CC CPSU decree. Practice requires looking for new forms and methods of working with people and raising the efficiency and quality of political educational work and concentrating one's efforts on its main directions.

"Allow me in the name of all the communists of the republic," Sh.R. Rashidov said in completing his address, "to assure the Leninist Central Committee and Leonid Il'ich personally that the party organizations and ideological workers of Uzbekistan will do everything possible to ensure higher quality and efficiency of ideological and political educational work in the struggle for realization of the great ideals of Marxism-Leninism!"

In discussing the report the participants of the plenum emphasized the tremendous party and state importance of the CC CPSU decree which generalizes the party's rich experience in education of the new man. The speakers spoke of the tremendous possibilities available to party organizations for further bolstering the ideological and political educational work through the sharing of experience. At the same time, defects were criticized in the organization of ideological work, which frequently far from meets the higher general educational and cultural level and cultural level and needs of the workers. It was pointed out that a number of party organizations do not ensure the necessary scientific level of propaganda and agitation work. This work frequently lacks aggressive character and displays an absence of efficiency and concreteness and of connection with life.

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REGIONAL

SHEVARDNADZE ADDRESSES TBILISI CONFERENCE ON FODDER PRODUCTION

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 20 May 79 p 1 LD

[Gruzinform report: "Georgian CP Central Committee Conference"]

[Excerpts] A conference in which obkom gorkom and raykom first secretaries took part was held at the Georgian CP Central Committee on 19 May.

A report on the Georgian party organizations' tasks in creating a solid livestock fodder base in the republic was delivered by D. I. Patiashvili, secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee.

Taking part in the work of the conference were G. V. Kolbin, second secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee; Z. A. Chkheidze, secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee; T. N. Menteshashvili, first secretary of Tbilisi Gorkom; B. V. Adleyb, first secretary of the Abkhazskiy Obkom; and F. S. Sanakoyev, first secretary of the Yugo-osetinskiy Obkom.

The results of the conference were summed up by E. A. Shevardnadze, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee.

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REGIONAL

USSR ELECTRONICS INDUSTRY MINISTER TOURS GEORGIA

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 13 May 79 p 1 LD

[Gruzinform report: "Young Sector of the National Economy"]

[Text] Comrade A. I. Shokin, USSR Minister of Electronics Industry was in Georgia for a few days. He visited enterprises in the sector, met with workers and specialists and inquired about their living and working conditions.

Comrade Shokin had a meeting with Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee, and members of the Georgian CP Central Committee Bureau.

Comrade Shokin was accompanied on his tour of Georgia by Comrade Z. A. Pataridze, chairman of the Georgian Council of Ministers, and Comrade Z. A. Chkheidze, secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee.

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REGIONAL

USSR NONFERROUS METALLURGY MINISTER IN GEORGIA, SEES SHEVARDNADZE

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 12 May 79 p 1 LD

[Gruzininform report: "Nonferrous Metallurgy: Routes of Progress"]

[Text] Comrade P. F. Lomako, USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, has been in Georgia for a few days. He visited the Madneuli Mining and Enrichment Combine, the Rustavi Aluminum Alloy Shop and the Georgian Republic's "Vtortsvetmet" Administration, familiarized himself with the activity of their collectives, met with working people and specialists and displayed interest in their working and living conditions.

A meeting took place between Comrade Lomako and Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee, and members of the Georgian CP Central Committee Bureau.

Comrade Lomako took part in a Georgian CP Central Committee Bureau discussion of the prospects for the development of the republic's nonferrous metallurgy.

Comrade Z. A. Pataridze, Chairman of the Georgian Council of Ministers, and Comrade Z. A. Chkheidze, secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee, accompanied Comrade P. F. Lomako on his tour of Georgia.

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